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The Political Philosophy of a Tudor Lawyer

Too little attention has thus far been paid to the political philosophy of that most erudite of early Tudor lawyers, Christopher St. German. A few pages here, an essay there, a footnote some other place, are the only tributes paid to this thinker whom J. W. Allen has characterized as having "expressed most clearly the nature and implications of the change that the Tudor government was bringing about".[1] Though probably one of the most influential writers of his generation, St. German has been condemned to relative obscurity, and his place on the stage as one of the outstanding intellects of the early English Reformation usurped by less important men.[2] And yet this was the man whose *Doctor and Student* served as the basic handbook for law students up to the time of Blackstone, who engaged in controversy with Sir Thomas More over the question of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and who wrote three additional treatises as part of Henry VIII's propagandist campaign against the spirituality.

St. German was born in Warwickshire about 1460, the son of Henry St. German, a knight, and Anne, daughter of Thomas Tyndale. He was educated at Oxford and the Inner Temple and, according to Anthony à Wood, was esteemed by the citizens of London as a lawyer in the civil

[1] *A History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1928), p. 165. Allen is the only writer who has attempted to treat St. German's philosophy as a whole. For other references to various aspects of St. German's thought, see *The Collected Papers of Paul Vinogradoff* (Oxford, 1928), vol. II, essay IX; A. I. Taft's *The Apologye of Syr Thomas More, Knyght* (London, 1930), pp. xxxvii-xlvii; Pierre Janelle's *L'Angleterre catholique à la veille du schisme* (Paris, 1935), pp. 150-151; C. H. McIlwain's *High Court of Parliament* (New Haven, 1910), ch. II, note C; W. S. Holdsworth's *History of English Law* (London, 5th ed.), V, 266-269; S. B. Chrimes's *English Constitutional Ideas in the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1936), pp. 203 f.

[2] Stephen Gardiner, for example, whose *De vera obedientia*, though important as a piece of polemic, lacked the vision of St. German's works.

as well as the common law.[3] That he was held in high regard by the government is inferred from the facts that his legal advice was sought by Cromwell's agents in 1534,[4] and that some years later he was asked, along with such notables as Nicholas Heath, Sampson, and Cranmer, to give his opinion on some changes proposed by the king to "Bishops' Book".[5] Moreover, he was sufficiently prominent in 1536 to be mentioned by the Yorkshire rebels as one of those whose heresies should be destroyed.[6] But on the whole he seems to have shunned political life, to which the paucity of references to him in the *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII* is ample witness, and to have devoted his time to collecting a large legal library, writing legal and controversial treatises, and studying philosophy and the liberal sciences.[7] As for his religious views, Pollard's description of him as a "moderate reformer" is sufficiently accurate for our present purposes, although there is reason to believe that his doctrinal position underwent a change in a radical direction between 1532 and 1535.[8] He died in 1540.

Dialogus de fundamentis legum et conscientia, more commonly known as *Doctor and Student,* St. German's well-known treatise on the theory of law and equity and its relation to the laws of England, first appeared in the form of a single dialogue in 1523, an English version of which came out in 1531.[9] A second dialogue was published in English

[3] For two brief accounts of St. German's life, see A. F. Pollard's article in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and Anthony à Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses* (London, 1813), vol. I.

[4] *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII,* J. S. Brewer and James Gairdner, eds. (Rolls Series), VII, 1008. Thomas Thirlby and other agents of Cromwell requested the help of "master Sayntegerman" in certain legal matters, but he excused himself.

[5] British Museum, Royal MSS., 7, CXVI, ff. 199-210. This is apparently a summary written in the hand of some secretary of the material contained in books already submitted by these four authorities criticizing the proposed changes in the "Bishops' Book". The four critics are referred to in the margin as "Heth" (Nicholas Heath), "Chichester" (Sampson), "My L. of Caunterbury" (Cranmer), and "S. Jermyn" (St. German). The scribe sometimes reproduces the actual words of the critics, but frequently he simply summarizes them. Most of the space is devoted to the opinions of Heath, Sampson, and Cranmer, but there are four entries under St. German's name, giving his views on the perpetual virginity of the virgin, the mediation of saints, and the sacraments of penance and orders.

[6] *Letters and Papers,* XI, 1246.

[7] Wood, *passim.*

[8] During his controversy with Sir Thomas More, which took place in 1532-1533, St. German's views are almost reactionary, and More himself refers to his opponent as "a man good and catholike". But in his later treatises he questions the value of images and deprecates the practice of praying to saints.

[9] There seems to be no extant copy of the first Latin impression. The English version was by no means an exact translation of the Latin, but the substance of the material remained the same.

in 1530, and in the following year an appendix containing thirteen "Additions" on the power of parliament in relation to the clergy was added. St. German's comments on the relation of equity to the common law in the English version apparently aroused some apprehension on the part of the common lawyers, for one of them answered him in a short treatise which denied the validity of obtaining a subpoena in chancery in appeal from the common law.[10] It is possible that the rejoinder to this treatise, entitled *A Litel Treatise concerning Writs of Subpoena,* was written by St. German himself.[11]

However that may be, five other anonymous tracts, all of them directed against the clergy, were almost certainly written by St. German: *A Treatise concerning the Division between the Spirituality and Temporality, Dialogue betwixte two englyshemen, whereof one was called Salem, and the other Bizance, A treatyse concernīge the power of the clergye and the lawes of the realme, A treatise cōcernynge diuers of the constitucyons prouynciall and legantines,* and *An Answer to a Letter.*[12] There is a continuity of thought and a similarity of treatment running through these tracts which makes it extremely probable that St. German was their author. The ideas expressed throughout the tracts are not entirely consistent, to be sure, but this can be explained more reasonably by the breach with Rome and its influence on the writer than by the assumption that the treatises were written by different men. The same legal strain, the same jealousy of the common law as against the canon law, and the same passion in upholding parliamentary as opposed to ecclesiastical jurisdiction are evident in all five treatises.

The first of these tracts was published in 1532, and, as Mr. Taft and M. Janelle have pointed out, it resembles strikingly the Petition of the

[10] This treatise, entitled *A Replication of a Serjaunte at the Lawes of England, to certayne Pointes alleaged by a Student of the said Lawes of England, in a Dialogue in Englishe between a Doctor of Divinity and the said Student,* is printed on pages 323-331 in *A Collection of Tracts relative to the Law of England,* ed. by Francis Hargrave (London, 1787).

[11] This treatise is also printed in Hargrave's *Tracts,* pp. 332-355. Hargrave remarks (p. 321) that the following notice was appended to the Cottonian MS. in which these two treatises were discovered: "Founde amongste the bookes of Sir Edward Saunders . . . and noted by his hande writinge to be entitled on the outsyde, 'The Dialogue betweene a Serjaunte at the lawe and Christopher Seinte Jerman;' and on the inside, 'The Answer of this Treatise by Christopher Seinte Jerman' ". There is no other evidence, however, that this treatise was actually written by St. German.

[12] John Bale attributes several other treatises to St. German, but they are variations on the same themes and have at any rate been lost. See Bale's *Illustrium maioris Britanniae scriptorum summarium* (1548).

Commons of the same year.[13] It was most probably written as part of Henry VIII's propagandist campaign, although it must be confessed there is no documentary proof showing that St. German had any connection with the government. In this work St. German maintained that the trouble between the spirituality and temporality was due to clerical corruptions and usurpations, and his argument was apparently so telling that Sir Thomas More devoted most of his *Apology* to refuting it. The former chancellor averred that the controversy between the spirituality and temporality had not been instigated by the causes which his anonymous opponent had cited but, on the contrary, by the prevalence of heresy among the laity. St. German responded in 1533 with his *Dialogue between Salem and Bizance*[14] which asserted that if all the heretics in the world were annihilated, the controversy between clergy and laity would still remain. St. German's contention, "that if preesthode be holle and sounde, all the church flouryssheth: and if it be corrupte, the feyth and vertue of the people fadeth also and vanisheth away",[15] was remarkably like Dean Colet's view enunciated in his sermon before convocation in 1511. On the whole, St. German's response to More was simply an expansion of the material contained in his first treatise with rather more attention paid to the heresy laws and a more theoretical interpretation of the problem of the "regnum" and "sacerdotium". Unwilling to let this second thrust go unanswered, More closed the controversy with *The debellacyon of Salem and Bizance,*[16] in which he referred to his opponent contemptuously as "Sir John Some saye the Pacifiar", and to *Salem and Bizance* as "delivered of a dead mouse". In this long and rather tedious rebuttal More expatiated at greater length on the virtues of the existing heresy laws and maintained that if these were relaxed, the streets

[13] See Taft's introduction to the *Apologye of Syr Thomas More* and Janelle, p. 150. The only edition, since the original one of 1532, of *A Treatise concerning the Division between the Spirituality and Temporality* (hereafter referred to as *Spirituality and Temporality*) is to be found in the Appendix to Taft. There seems to be little doubt that St. German was its author. Samuel Halkett and John Laing's *Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous Literature of Great Britain* attributes it to him, and both Taft and Janelle concur in this view.

[14] *A Dialogue betwixte two englyshemen, whereof one was called Salem, and the other Bizance* (hereafter referred to as *Salem and Bizance*), London, 1533. This is the only edition of this work, which is very rare and is to be found only in the British Museum, Bodleian, and Cambridge libraries. It is a continuation of the argument set forth in the *Spirituality and Temporality,* so that there can be no doubt it was written by St. German. Bale, and Halkett and Laing also attribute it to him.

[15] *Salem and Bizance,* pp. x^{b}-xi.

[16] London, 1533.

would promptly swarm with heretics. His opponent, he said, had also cited abuses of the clergy as illustrative of the causes of dissension between clergy and laity which no one had ever heard of, and the discrepancy pointed out by this "pacifiar" between church legislation and the laws of the realm was, according to More, an illusion.

Within a year More was committed to the Tower and his defense of the old order silenced, but St. German continued on his destructive path and wrote three more anticlerical works before his death in 1540. It is impossible to say in what order they were written because they were published without any dates affixed, but it seems likely that *An Answer to a Letter*[17] came last because it represents St. German's most mature philosophy, particularly on the question of the interpretation of church doctrine, toward which all his earlier works seemed to be tending. At any rate, it is probable that all three were issued during or shortly after 1534 because *Power of the Clergy*[18] discusses the Act of Supremacy in its final form,[19] and *An Answer* deals with statutes passed in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of Henry VIII (1534).

Power of the Clergy is for the most part a reconsideration of the materials set forth in his first two treatises, but here for the first time St. German, like so many of his contemporaries, turns to history for his inspiration in attacking the "sacerdotium". He descants on the priestly character of kings in the Old Testament, shows how Christ never wielded the temporal sword, and cuts to pieces the various arguments which had been advanced in time past to prove that the clergy should exercise both spiritual and temporal power.

Constitutions Provincial and Legatine[20] seems to be a more special-

[17] Printed at London by Thomas Godfrey (hereafter referred to as *An Answer*). Halkett and Laing and the British Museum authors' catalogue both ascribe this treatise to St. German, and Allen discusses it as though it were admittedly St. German's. This, too, is a very rare work, and apparently the copy in the British Museum is the only one extant.

[18] *A treatyse concernīge the power of the clergye and the lawes of the realme* (hereafter referred to as *Power of the Clergy*). Printed at London by Thomas Godfray. Copies are to be found only in the British Museum, Bodleian, and Cambridge libraries. Bale lists this as one of St. German's writings, and Pollard accepts it in his article (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*). Moreover, the same Marsilian definition of the church which appears in chapter VII of *An Answer* is set forth in chapter IX of *Power of the Clergy*.

[19] The Act of Supremacy was passed in 1534 (26 Hen. VIII, c. 1).

[20] *A treatise cōcernynge diuers of the constitucyons prouynciall and legantines* (hereafter referred to as *Constitutions Provincial and Legatine*). Printed at London by Thomas Godfray. The authenticity of this treatise is the most doubtful of St. German's tracts, for it is listed under his name in Halkett and Laing and the British Museum catalogue with a question mark. However, the fact that it rediscusses many of the specific cases which had

ized study of chapter VII of *Power of the Clergy,* and for this reason appears to have been written shortly after the latter tract. It deals with the constitutions promulgated by the papal legates, Otho and Othobon, and attempts to show how many of these are incompatible with the laws of the realm and the king's prerogative.[21] *An Answer,* which was probably written last, is perhaps the most important of St. German's controversial works, for it is the boldest and the most perspicacious. Here for the first time St. German attacks the papal power directly and affirms that the interpretation of church doctrine must logically be given to the king in parliament rather than to the clergy.

The influences which went into the making of St. German's political philosophy are manifold. The matter is, of course, too complex to treat in any detail here, but it will be useful to point out the more obvious sources. In addition to a knowledge of civil and canon law and a practicing acquaintance with the common law, it is evident that St. German was a profound student of John Gerson (1363-1429), rector of the University of Paris and one of the leaders of the conciliar movement in the early part of the fifteenth century. Even a casual acquaintance with St. German's treatises will reveal the fact that he refers to Gerson time and again to support his thesis that canon law is not identical with divine law, and that jurisdiction over temporal things belongs exclusively to the secular government. Vinogradoff points out that Gerson was the leading exponent of the school doctrines for the sixteenth century jurists, and that St. German borrowed heavily from the Frenchman in his exposition of the "lex aeterna", natural law, and equity.[22] But in addition to this indirect influence Gerson is directly referred to many times in *Doctor and Student,* and once each in *Spirituality and Temporality* and *Power of the Clergy.*[23] St. German apparently found Gerson useful not only for

attracted St. German's attention as far back as Dialogue II of his *Doctor and Student* makes it evident that it was St. German's work. Copies are available only in the British Museum and Cambridge libraries.

[21] Otho and Othobon were the papal legates in England during the reign of Henry III, and the legislation referred to is that promulgated by the Synod of London in 1268. Chapter VII of *Power of the Clergy* discusses these provincial and legatine canons.

[22] *The Collected Papers of Paul Vinogradoff* (Oxford, 1928), vol. II, essay IX. Vinogradoff shows that St. German's description of the "lex aeterna" in the Latin version of *Doctor and Student* follows Gerson's nominalistic view, according to which the eternal law was established by the will rather than by the reason of the Creator. Vinogradoff also shows that St. German uses the same garbled form for equity as Gerson—"Epieikeia".

[23] *Doctor and Student,* William Muchall, ed. (Cincinnati, 1874), pp. 8, 282 f, 305, 308-309; *Spirituality and Temporality,* p. 212; *Power of the Clergy,* p. Aviii.

the exposition of the theory of law but as a distinguished authority for the attack on the privileges of the clergy as well.

St. German's obligation to Sir John Fortescue and Marsilius of Padua is almost as striking, though he never refers to either by name.[24] It seems fairly obvious that the passage in which he distinguishes between the two kinds of power which kings have over their subjects is derived from a study of Fortescue's famous distinction.[25] St. German's "jus regale", whereby the king may make laws without his subjects' consent, and his "jus regale politicum", whereby his subjects' consent is necessary to legislation, correspond neatly to Fortescue's "jus regale" and "jus politicum et regale". Moreover, St. German, like Fortescue, is insistent on the superiority of the second kind of law to the first, and he agrees with him that the "jus politicum et regale" is the kind of law "vndre wich we live" in England. Fortescue must have been well known to all the sixteenth century lawyers, and St. German probably had his works in his own library.[26]

St. German's debt to Marsilius of Padua, the protagonist of Ludwig the Bavarian against Pope John XXII in the fourteenth century, is not so obvious. But his definition of the church, which was substantially different from the definition set forth in the Middle Ages, is too much like the definition of "ecclesia" in *Defensor pacis* to admit of much doubt as to where it came from.[27] The definition which St. German gives in *Power of the Clergy,* "that by that worde churche is not under-

[24] St. German does, however, actually refer to Fortescue's *De laudibus legum Angliae* in *Doctor and Student,* p. 253.

[25] *An Answer,* pp. Gv[b]-Gvi[b]. For Fortescue's distinction, see *The Governance of England,* Charles Plummer, ed. (Oxford, 1885), ch. 1.

[26] In manuscript form, of course. None of Fortescue's works were published until the eighteenth century except *De laudibus,* which came out for the first time in 1537.

[27] According to the medieval view the church consisted of "a body of men united together by the profession of the same Christian Faith, and by participation in the same sacraments, under the governance of lawful pastors, more especially of the Roman Pontiff, the sole vicar of Christ on earth" (Bellarmine's definition, quoted from the *Catholic Encyclopedia*). This was obviously unsuitable for the sixteenth century reformers, who needed a definition like that of Marsilius excluding the pope altogether and rejecting the inference that the clergy was the most important element in the "ecclesia". See, in addition to St. German, Stephen Gardiner's *De vera obedientia,* printed in P. Janelle's *Obedience in Church and State* (Cambridge, 1930), pp. 92-93; Edward Fox's *Opus eximium de vera differentia regiae potestatis et ecclesiasticae* (Stafford's translation, London, 1548?), pp. viii-xi; "A Litel Treatise ageynste the mutterynge of some papistis in corners", printed in N. Pocock's *Records of the Reformation* (Oxford, 1870), II, 543; and in the "Bishops' Book", printed in *Formularies of Faith put forth by authority during the reign of Henry VIII,* C. Lloyd, ed. (Oxford, 1825), pp. 52 f.

stande only the clergye, for they undoutydly make not the chyrche, for the hole congregation of Christen people maketh the chyrche",[28] is precisely the same as Marsilius's famous phrase that "all faythfull chrysten men are and ought to be called men of the churche, as well those, whiche be not preestes, as those whiche be preestes".[29] It might well be, too, that a study of *Defensor pacis* convinced the lawyer of the fundamental distinction between temporal and spiritual which is so characteristic of his treatises. To Marsilius the word "temporale" referred to all things beginning or ending in time and had to do with corporal things necessary to man for the state of this worldly life, whereas "spirituale" meant the teaching and learning of the precepts of the law of God having reference to the life to come, *i.e.*, preaching, the administration of the sacraments, etc.[30] The possessions of the clergy, their temporal goods, tithes, and coercive jurisdiction came properly, according to Marsilius, under the term "temporale". Now although St. German never precisely distinguishes between the two terms, we shall see below that the cases at issue between clergy and laity which he cites are based on this fundamental distinction. I do not wish to press this analogy too far because I realize it cannot be proved. But I do wish to point out the possibility of St. German's having studied and applied the *Defensor pacis,* which would have been available to him in Latin as early as 1522 and in English as early as 1533.[31]

It is also possible that St. German may have derived some of his ideas from the pamphlet entitled *Dialogus inter militem et clericum,* which appeared in the early fourteenth century in defense of Philip the Fair, and which was published in English during Henry VIII's controversy with Rome. Its author asserted that the church had never received power

[28] P. Diiii; see also *An Answer,* p. Giiii[b].

[29] I give here the words of Richard Marshall whose translation of Marsilius St. German may have read. See *The defence of peace; lately translated out of laten in to englysshe, With the Kynges most gracyous priuilege* (printed by Robert Wyer, 1535), p. 45[b]. For the original Latin text, see *Defensor pacis,* C. W. Previté-Orton, ed. (Cambridge, 1928), p. 117.

[30] *Defensor pacis,* pp. 118-119, 159-160.

[31] There was a Latin edition printed at Basel in 1522, the first time Marsilius ever appeared in print. As for an English version, Marshall says, in a letter to Cromwell written about April, 1534, that the *Defensor pacis* has been translated for twelve months (*Letters and Papers,* VII, 14). St. German, incidentally, was not the only English writer for whom the *Defensor pacis* was a source of inspiration in the early sixteenth century. See F. L. Baumer's article, "Thomas Starkey and Marsilius of Padua", in *Politica,* II (Nov., 1936) 188-205; also C. W. Previté-Orton's *Marsilius of Padua* (British Academy Lecture, London, 1935), pp. 29 f. It will appear from these articles that both Starkey and Archbishop Cranmer were keen students of Marsilius.

from God over temporal things; that Boniface VIII's pretensions were absurd; that Peter had been given the keys of heaven, not of earth; and that what privileges the clergy did possess had been granted them by kings and princes for the profit of the commonweal, and that if these privileges later proved injurious to the state, they could be altered or withdrawn.[32] All these were ideas which might well have served St. German in his attack on the clergy and papacy, and *Dialogus* must therefore be added as an additional possibility for the sources of St. German's thought.

St. German's political philosophy proper divides itself easily into two categories, one of which may be dignified by the name of theory, and the other of which was opportunist in the sense that it was constantly changing. The first, St. German's theory of law, is revealed mainly in his *Doctor and Student* and was inspired for the most part by medieval philosophy. The second, his attitude toward the problem of the "regnum" and "sacerdotium", is contained in the five controversial tracts and, though influenced by medieval ideas, represents a distinctly new approach. Inasmuch as his theory of law was formulated before the English Reformation got under way and remained constant throughout the course of his life, it will be possible to treat it as a systematized hypothesis, as indeed it was. But because his ideas on the political significance of Henry VIII's break with Rome were continually undergoing development between 1532 and 1535, it will be necessary to treat his philosophy of the "regnum" and "sacerdotium" historically, examining each treatise in its place in time.

St. German's theory of law is distinctly medieval and in no sense reflects the spirit of the New Monarchy which the Yorkists and Tudors had been erecting. In an age in which statute law was gradually asserting its supremacy over franchise and corporation and even custom, there is nothing in *Doctor and Student* which even faintly resembles the modern idea of sovereignty. The final court of appeal, according to St. German, is an objective body of principles, eternally true and ever binding, and not the king in parliament, whose duty it is to interpret and extend but not to create law. St. German simply reproduces Thomas Aquinas's fourfold division of law and abides implicitly by the Schoolman's phil-

[32] *Dialogus inter militem et clericum*, A. J. Perry, ed. (London, 1925). See especially pp. 2-4, 7-8, 18-19, 30, 32, 34-37. *Dialogus* appeared in the reign of Henry VIII under the title *A dialogue betwene a knyght and a clerke, concernynge the power spiritual and temporall*. Th. Berthelet (London, n.d.). Another edition appeared from Berthelet's press in 1540.

osophy.[33] The Law Eternal, he says, is called the first Law, "for it was before all other Laws, and all other Laws be derived of it".[34] God has revealed this Law Eternal to man only partially through the triple medium of the law of reason or nature,[35] the law of God, and the law of man. The first of these, which, among other things, teaches that one should do unto another as he would have others do unto him, is written in the heart of every man and is unchangeable in place or time. "And therefore against this Law, Prescription, Statute nor Custom may not prevail: And if any be brought in against it, they be not Prescriptions, Statutes nor Customs, but Things void and against Justice". The law of God, which is manifested by revelation in the Old and the New Testament, was a necessary addition to the law of nature because it helped man to obtain eternal felicity. The law of man or the law positive, which consists of the order of a prince or any other secondary government, "is not contrary to the Law of Reason, nor the Law of God, but it is superadded unto them for the better ordering of the Commonwealth . . . such a Law of Man hath not only the Strength of Man's Law, but also the Law of Reason or of the Law of God, whereof it is derived. For Laws made by Men, which have received of God power to make Laws, be made by God".[36]

It is true that St. German asserts that statute law shall prevail over customary law in case there is conflict. "A Statute made against such general Customs", he says, "ought to be observed, because they be not merely the Law of Reason".[37] But this last phrase is the point. Statute law is to be preferred to custom because the latter is not identical with the law of reason and therefore has not the same eternal validity. But although the immemorial custom of the realm can be overridden, it is patent that the law of reason which is grounded on the will of the

[33] See R. W. and A. J. Carlyle's *A History of Mediaeval Political Theory in the West*, V (Edinburgh, 1928), 38-41.

[34] *Doctor and Student*, p. 3.

[35] McIlwain in his *High Court of Parliament*, p. 105, comments on the fact that the common lawyers rejected the term "law of nature" in favor of "law of reason". "The English 'law of reason' ", he says, "seems to have had the same close relation to custom that the old law of nature had formerly borne to the 'jus gentium' ".

[36] *Doctor and Student*, pp. 4, 5, 52.

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 25. Another example of the superiority of statute law to custom is to be found in *Spirituality and Temporality* (p. 238) where St. German asserts that even if benefit of clergy had been admitted into the realm as a custom, "it were not only a lauful dede to breke that custom, but a right good and meritorious dede to do it", providing it worked against the king's peace.

Creator cannot, and that statute law in the final analysis is derivative of the law of reason. St. German's approach to law is purely medieval despite the expanding statute book under Henry VIII and the growing omnicompetence of the Tudor state.

Assuming that there is nothing of modern sovereignty in St. German, it is important to determine whether in his ideas of kingship there is anything of modern absolutism, or whether in this respect, too, he looks back to the Middle Ages. What, according to St. German, is the king's place in legislation, what is his position in regard to positive law once it has been promulgated, and what is his conception of equity? Does St. German look to the rejuvenated Roman law and the Bartolist tradition for inspiration, or does he reflect the medieval theory of kingship, the last great exponent of which in England had been Sir John Fortescue? As a matter of fact, he looks to neither, but, as we shall see below, elaborates a theory of the omnipotence of parliament which is both out of the Roman law tradition, and an extension of the representative idea of which Fortescue had never dreamed.

St. German's references to kingship by itself, not in association with parliament, are, however, directly in the medieval tradition. Although he asserts the divine origin of the kingly office,[38] there is nothing in his writings of the famous phrase, "Quod principi placuit, legis habet vigorem". Wherever the lawyer speaks of legislation it is the "king in parliament" and not the king alone to whom he invariably refers. The king's prerogative is quietly ignored, and the monarch is spoken of as "the Head, and most chief and principal Part of the Parliament".[39] In the Additions to *Doctor and Student* St. German is always alluding to the "king in parliament" when specific acts of legislation are discussed. He asserts roundly in Dialogue II that "there is no statute made in this realm but by the assent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and of all the commons, that is to say, by the knights of the shire, citizens and burgesses, that be chosen by assent of the commons, which in the parliament represent the estate of the whole commons".[40] And in *An Answer to a Letter,* it will be remembered, St. German distinguishes between the "jus regale" and the "jus regale politicum", the latter of which "hathe the kynges grace in this Realme: where he by assente of his lordes spirytuall and temperall: and of his commons gathered togyther by his

[38] See the first two chapters of *Power of the Clergy.*

[39] *Doctor and Student,* p. 72.

[40] *Ibid.,* p. 249.

commaundement in his parlyamente maye make lawes to bynde the people".[41]

Moreover, once the law has been promulgated whether in the form of custom or statute, the king is bound to observe its dictates. There is nothing here of the principle "legibus solutus", for the king, according to St. German, is sworn by his coronation oath to maintain the customs of the realm and to see that they are faithfully observed.[42] He is also obliged to administer justice to his people according to the laws of the realm,[43] and can in no case make changes or grants which run counter to custom and statute law. The various courts of the realm, for example, which are established by the common law "may not be altered, ne their Names changed, without Parliament".[44] And St. German remarks in one of his later treatises that if the king's grace were to make a grant to the bishops of the realm to hold plea of temporal things as Emperor Theodosius had once provided, "the graunte were voyde for it were agaynst his lawes".[45]

The Serjeant who wrote a reply to *Doctor and Student,* however, understood St. German to mean that the king through the medium of a subpoena in chancery might in some cases suspend and even annul the findings of the common law. "I mervaile moche", he says, "what authorite the chancellor hath to make such a writ in the king's name, and how he dare presume to make soche a writ to let the kinge's subjects to sue his lawes, the which the kinge himselfe cannot do rightewislye".[46] The good Serjeant, however, simply misunderstood St. German's intent, for in the latter's discussion of equity there is no such opposition between the common law and chancery expressed. Equity, according to St. German, "is secretly understood in every general Rule of every positive Law", and is not prohibited by the law provided it be applied in legitimate cases. It is simply an exception of the law of God or reason from the general rules of the law of man when the latter by reason of their generality would in any particular case judge against conscience.[47] This, incidentally, was also the way the anonymous author of *A Litel Treatise concerning Writs of Subpoena* understood St. German's account. There

[41] *Answer,* pp. Gvi-Gvi[b].
[42] *Doctor and Student,* p. 18.
[43] *Answer,* p. Av.
[44] *Doctor and Student,* p. 19.
[45] *Power of the Clergy,* p. Gvii.
[46] *A Replication of a Serjaunte,* p. 325. See above, n. 10.
[47] *Doctor and Student,* p. 45.

is no such opposition between the common law and chancery as the Serjeant charges, he says. In actuality, the chancellor has often sought the advice of the justices, and at any rate there is no subpoena directly against the maxims of the law, for the law can be nullified "by no courte but by parliament".[48]

It is thus evident that in his theory of law and the relation of the king to law St. German was eminently conservative and for the most part continued the medieval tradition that "the king is under God and the law, for it is the law which makes the king".[49] Though he was cognizant of the civil and canon law and realized the necessity of equitable jurisdiction wielded by the chancellor, he made no attempt to apply the principle of absolutism to the English crown, nor did he see in equity a challenge to the common law. But if St. German held no brief for absolute monarchy, what kind of secular government did he advocate as an antidote to the "sacerdotium" which during the Middle Ages had lived by a law of its own, and whose prerogatives St. German held in such abhorrence? Allen's statement that "St. Germain appears to attribute to the King in Parliament a quite unlimited authority"[50] supplies the answer. At a time when Henry VIII, broken free from Wolsey's influence, was using, and hence exalting, the prestige of parliament as a means of effecting the English Reformation, St. German quite naturally saw in the "king in parliament" and not the king alone the champion for his attack on Rome and the jurisdiction of the spiritual courts. He was not interested in the problem of king *vs.* parliament but in the struggle between the king allied with parliament *vs.* the spiritual power, and as such he may be said to have been one of the first theorists of the modern doctrine of parliamentary supremacy.

It may be stated parenthetically, however, that Allen's statement that St. German attributed to the king in parliament an "unlimited" authority is slightly inaccurate. The lawyer did contend that in the final analysis statute law might prevail over custom,[51] and, as we shall see, he asserted the superiority of statute law to the positive law of the church. But, as we saw above, statute law, in St. German's opinion, is not only derivative of, but also subordinate to, the law of reason or nature and the law of God. Surely no statement can be more explicit than St. German's asser-

[48] *A Litel Treatise*, pp. 332, 343-344. See above, n. 11.

[49] Bracton's *De legibus et consuetudinibus Angliæ*, George E. Woodbine, ed. (New Haven, 1915), II, 33.

[50] Allen, p. 167.

[51] See above, p. 640.

tion that if any law made by man "bind any Person to any Thing that is against the said Laws, it is no Law, but a Corruption, and manifest Error".[52] And lest it be imagined that the law of reason in St. German is a vague, general principle incapable of practical application, we have only to turn to the Student's discussion of it as one of the grounds of the laws of England, where it appears that personal rights are protected under the law of reason primary and property rights under the law of reason secondary general.[53] And in regard to the law of God, St. German asserts that if parliament and convocation were to grant to the king powers such as the administration of the sacraments and absolution, "it is no dout but that the graunt had ben voyde; for they haue no auctorite to chaunge the lawe of god".[54] It will be remembered, too, that in his discussion of equity, St. German remarks that if a law were made by man "without any such Exception expressed or implied, it were manifestly unreasonable, and were not to be suffered".[55]

With these reservations in mind we shall see that in his five controversial tracts St. German assigns to the king in parliament a preeminence in relation to the positive law of the church which it had never enjoyed before. In doing so, he was, of course, reflecting the actual political changes which were taking place under his eyes and may therefore be regarded as the intellectual exponent of Henry VIII's Reformation. We shall see how the principle of parliamentary supremacy is asserted as early as 1530 and 1531 in the complete English version of *Doctor and Student,* and how, as it gradually took shape in his mind and England drifted away from Rome, it reached unprecedented heights in his final treatise, *An Answer to a Letter,* which was published during or after 1535. In dealing with St. German's treatment of the problem of church and state it will be necessary, however, to develop it historically because, as we have said, his political ideas on the religious question were constantly being extended and modified and in no sense constituted a concrete hypothesis like his theory of law.

During the last ten years of his life St. German seems to have interested himself mainly in a violent attack on the prerogatives and privileges of the clergy and, in fact, the whole ecclesiastical system. Once Henry VIII had set the English Reformation in motion, this old man, over seventy years of age, caught his second breath and employed his pen

[52] *Doctor and Student,* p. 53.
[53] *Ibid.,* pp. 12-13.
[54] *An Answer,* p. Biiii.
[55] *Doctor and Student,* pp. 48-49.

feverishly in defense of the new order. Probably the fall of Wolsey and the impending break with Rome afforded him the opportunity he had long hoped for as a common lawyer, of attacking the spiritual courts and convocation under the aegis of the king. At any rate, as early as 1530 and 1531 he had begun to consider the problem in his *Doctor and Student*. In Dialogue II and the Additions we find St. German already enunciating the principle that parliament alone has cognizance over temporal matters and that canon law must confine itself to a purely spiritual jurisdiction. The division between the spirituality and temporalty will never have end, he affirms, "but that all men within the realm, both spiritual and temporal, be ordered and ruled by one law in all things temporal". The canon law must rightfully renounce its temporal usurpations, he says, although parliament must, on the other hand, not interfere with the jurisdiction of things which be "mere spiritual".[56]

At first glance it looks as though St. German were simply restating the age-old principle of Gelasian dualism whereby the "regnum" was to confine itself to a purely temporal and the "sacerdotium" to a purely spiritual jurisdiction. But when we see just exactly what St. German meant by "temporal", it is evident that in 1530 and 1531 he was already beginning to enunciate the Marsilian distinction noted above and to claim for parliament powers which it had never before enjoyed. Parliament, he said, has cognizance over all cases having to do with property, goods, and money. It may rightfully pass laws concerning mortuaries, for, as Gerson said, these are temporal and concern the body. It may enact that no lands shall henceforth pass into mortmain, and it may prohibit ecclesiastical visitors from exacting money from the religious foundations they visit.[57] The church, on the other hand, cannot decree that a heretic's goods are forfeit, for this is a purely temporal matter, and a man excommunicated in a spiritual court for debt, trespass, and such other things as belong to the king's crown may have a "praemunire facias" against the party that sued him.[58] And lest it be thought that the selection of specific cases he assigns to parliamentary jurisdiction be con-

[56] *Ibid.*, pp. 201, 327-328.

[57] *Ibid.*, pp. 305, 308-309, 336-339. Perhaps St. German was thinking of Wolsey's ecclesiastical visitations when he makes the Student say (p. 336): "For the Money that they receive, though it be given by Occasion of a Spiritual Thing, is Temporal, and is under the Power of the Parliament, as all Temporal Lands and Goods be". The Student also says (p. 325) that all cases of annuities should be taken to the king's court rather than to the spiritual courts, "for nothing is to be recovered in such Suits but Money, which is temporal in whose Hands soever it come, Spiritual or Temporal".

[58] *Ibid.*, pp. 195, 201-203.

sidered arbitrary or merely a matter of opinion, St. German caps the climax by asserting a principle of parliamentary infallibility. The Student of the laws of England says that "it cannot be thought that a Statute that is made by Authority of the whole Realm, as well of the King and of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, as of all the Commons, will recite a thing against the Truth".[59]

It is to be noted, however, that despite his statement that the king in parliament has charge over the souls as well as the bodies of his subjects, St. German had not yet begun to attack the theory of papal power, doubtless because Henry VIII had not yet definitely broken with Rome. He merely confirms those reservations which had been provided for two centuries before by the various statutes of provisors and praemunire. He denies, among other things, that the pope may present to benefices falling vacant at Rome or, of his own authority, specify places of sanctuary within the realm. And, as we have noticed above, he is careful to leave "meer spiritual" things to the jurisdiction of the church. The king's law, he says, cannot reverse unjust decisions handed down by spiritual judges in a purely spiritual matter. In regard to interpretation of the articles of faith, St. German thinks "the people be bound to believe the church, for the church gathered together in the Holy Ghost cannot err in such things as belongeth to the catholic faith".[60] It is evident that St. German had not yet begun to think of the church in the Marsilian sense, which he was to adhere to several years later.

Spirituality and Temporality, published in 1532, advances no new ideas but simply restates the principles of *Doctor and Student* in more extreme form. The doctrine of parliamentary supremacy in temporal things is especially emphasized. In a discussion on mortuaries St. German asserts that "it is holden by them that be lerned in the lawe of this royalme, that the parlyamente hath an absolute power as to the possession of all temporall thynges within this realme, in whose handes so euer they be, spiritualle or temporalle, to take them froo one manne, and gyue theym to an nother withoute anye cause or consideration".[61] It is, of course, doubtful whether St. German really means all he says,[62] and he is probably overstating his case to prove his point. But the fact remains that his views of parliamentary power are very high, particularly in

[59] *Ibid.*, p. 279.

[60] *Ibid.*, pp. 217-219, 291, 298, 311-312, 319.

[61] *Spirituality and Temporality,* p. 228.

[62] It will be remembered that in *Doctor and Student* property is protected under the law of reason secondary general.

relation to the spirituality which, he says, has many times exceeded its authority in relation to statute law, custom, and the law of God.[63] There is no attack on the papacy, however, and in regard to the interpretation of doctrine St. German still thinks "that the temporall men maye not iudge, what is heresie and what not".[64]

The treatise *Salem and Bizance* came out the following year in answer to More's *Apology*, and on the whole it merely extends the materials of his two preceding works. Henry VIII had not yet formally repudiated papal authority, and St. German apparently preferred to stay on safe ground. He infers once again the doctrine of parliamentary infallibility when he remarks rather sarcastically that "if master More can shew any lawes, that haue ben made by parliament, concernyng the spiritualtie, that the parliament had none auctoritie to make . . . it wyl be wel done that he shewe them". He also enumerates certain "pretences", which the spirituality has advanced in time past, that should be repudiated. The claims that Christian princes must submit their executions to bishops, that the clergy shall not be taxed, and that a spiritual judge may compel a secular judge to do justice are manifestly false, St. German says. And in chapter xx he theorizes as to the sources of spiritual authority. Some things, he says, purely spiritual in nature, like the ministration of the sacraments, are derived immediately from God, but others originate through a medium, "that is to sey, by the meane of princis". It is mete, therefore, that all spiritual laws contrary to the king's laws and the custom of the realm should be repealed.[65]

It is with *Power of the Clergy* that St. German really begins to set forth his theory of church and state, if theory it may be called. Henry VIII had by this time been proclaimed Supreme Head of the Church of England, and St. German delves back into the Old and the New Testament to prove that the supremacy is grounded on scripture. Curiously enough he carefully avoids mentioning the papacy,[66] and as yet he is unprepared to ascribe to the secular government the power to interpret scripture. But otherwise his attack on the old regime is thoroughgoing, and what had formerly been largely surmise has now become a well-formulated hypothesis. The first two chapters are devoted to a muster

[63] *Spirituality and Temporality*, pp. 233-240.

[64] *Ibid.*, p. 223.

[65] *Salem and Bizance*, pp. lxxi, lxxiii-iv, lxxx[b].

[66] In chapter xviii, where St. German talks of the emperor's having been deprived of his right to the empire because of his sins against the saints, he avoids mentioning the pope by name.

of scriptural passages, mostly from the Old Testament, proving that kings and princes have their power immediately of God, and the third chapter illustrates how in the days of the Jewish kings men like Solomon ordered things spiritual. Then in chapter IX St. German posits the question as to whether King Lucius, who, he says, was the first Christian king of "Bretons" in this realm, or King Ethelbert, who was the first Christian king of "Englishmen", had any less authority over their subjects after they had been christened than before, when they had been pagans. St. German answers that according to scripture "oure lorde neuer intended by his commyng in to this world to take any power fro princes, but that they shulde haue lyke power ouer their subiectes after his commyng as they hadde before". Christ himself refused to be a king, St. German says, and he sent his apostles not to deprive princes of their authority but to order spiritual things in the church, such as the sacrament of the altar and absolution. The lawyer vigorously rejects the idea that the passage in Luke XXII means that both the spiritual and temporal powers had been given to the clergy and that princes have their temporal power from the church. Christ, he says, never gave his fullness of power to his apostles, and the texts which have been cited in time past to prove the opposite have been misinterpreted. St. German concludes, therefore, "that the kynges grace hathe nowe no newe auctorite by that, that he is cõfessed by the clergy, and auctorised by the parlyamẽt to be the heed of the churche of Englande. For it is but only a declaracyon of his fyrst power by god commytted to kynglye and regall auctorite, and no newe graunte".[67]

It must be confessed that St. German does not as yet perceive the full significance of the term supremacy, but it is at least apparent to him that if Christ had originally given the spiritual sword to the church and the temporal sword to the secular power, the really important thing is to determine who shall define what is spiritual and what is temporal. He does this in two ways: first, by defining the church in the Marsilian sense noted above,[68] to include not only the clergy but also "the hole congregation of Christen people"; and second, by reiterating the doctrine of the infallibility of parliament. The statutes which parliament has passed requiring priests to answer before secular jurisdiction are according to the law of God, "for it is not to presume that so many noble princes and their counseyle, ne the lordes, and the nobles of the realme, ne yet the

[67] *Power of the Clergy*, pp. Cvii, Cvii[b]-Di[b], Dii-Diii, and chs. XVII-XVIII.

[68] Pp. 637-638.

Comons gathered in the sayde parlyamente wolde fro tyme to tyme renne in so great offence of conscyence as is the brekynge of the lawe of god".[69] St. German goes on to say—and here he seems to forget his parliamentary ideas for the nonce—that the power to determine which of the canons are reasonable and which not "specyally belongeth to prīces and their counsell to loke upon".[70]

St. German does, however, make the reservation that the king in parliament cannot take away from the clergy such power as the latter had received immediately from Christ. And he repudiates the notion that by virtue of his title of supremacy the king is a spiritual person with spiritual powers. The king, St. German says, "hath none auctorite to minister any of ye sacramētes, ne to do any other thig spyrituall whereof oure lorde gaue power only to his apostles and discyples".[71]

Constitutions Provincial and Lægatine is simply, as we noted above, a more specialized study of chapter VII of *Power of the Clergy*. St. German merely repeats the formulas that the clergy has nothing to do with temporal matters and that many of the canons are valid not by the law of God but by the customs and statutes of the realm. It is interesting to note, also, that St. German repeats the Marsilian definition of the church which he had used in *Power of the Clergy*. It is a great oversight on the part of the clergy, he says, to assert that the word church applies only to priests, "for all Catholyke people make the churche . . . so that preestes be but onely a parte of it".[72]

An Answer to a Letter is St. German's final and most extreme statement on the subject of church and state. The ecclesiastical changes had by this time been well established in England, the papal bull of excommunication had lain unexecuted, and St. German was consequently prepared to push his doctrine to its logical conclusion. He begins by asserting once more that by the Act of Supremacy the king has had no new powers conferred on him, but that his original authority is only now more evidently known. Then for the first time in his literary career he plunges into a tirade on the usurpations of the "bishop of Rome". In the beginning, he says, the apostles and disciples had no more power in one place than in another. Rome was not taken as head

[69] *Power of the Clergy*, ch. VI.

[70] *Ibid.*, p. Hviii. St. German is undoubtedly thinking of 25 Hen. VIII, c. 19, whereby it was enacted that clerical statutes should be committed to the judgment of the king and a committee of thirty-two persons.

[71] *Power of the Clergy*, chs. I, XVII.

[72] P. Aviii^{b}.

of the church at the Council of Nicaea, and when Boniface III was made head of all the churches in the time of the Emperor Phocas, the emperor did not mean by this act to give Rome power over kings and emperors as well. None of the bishops at this time, he says, pretended to be "the heed of the unyuersall churche of Christ, that is to saye of the whole congregation of all christen people", but only to be head of all other bishops and priests.[73]

Having disposed of the claims of the "bishop of Rome" to universal dominion, St. German turns to the pertinent question of the interpretation of scripture. Everybody admits, he says, that the Catholic Church may expound scripture, and if the clergy can prove that they constitute the Catholic Church, then it is for them to expound it. But if on the other hand the laity as well as the clergy make the Catholic Church, "why shuld nat the parlyament then whiche representeth the whole catholyke churche of Englande expounde scrypture rather than the conuocacyon which representeth onely the clergy"?[74] St. German, like none of his contemporaries, had the foresight to see that if Henry VIII's Reformation were to be made complete, the king in parliament must be given the "plenitudo potestatis" which the papacy and clergy had formerly enjoyed.

St. German extends his definition of the church to provide against the possible contingency of Henry VIII's being summoned to a general council under the aegis of the pope. In a passage which is peculiarly reminiscent of Marsilius of Padua, he says that no man ought to pretend that at a general council "anye other shulde be iuges but kynges and princes and suche as they wyll appoynte under them to bere voyces therin: seynge that they haue the power and voyce of the whole people of christendom, which is the catholyque churche as is sayde before".[75]

The Tudor lawyer continues to make the reservation, however, that under no circumstances may the king assume "mere spirituall" powers. It is the king's duty, he says, to see to it that his subjects, spiritual or temporal, obey the law of God, and that the clergy is not negligent in doing its duty. But there is a distinction between the "ministration" of a king and that of a priest. The ministration of the former is the ministration of power, justice, and sovereignty, whereas the ministration of the clergy, "standeth in spirytuall seruyce to the

[73] *An Answer*, p. Aiii[b], ch. 11, and p. Bi.

[74] *Ibid.*, pp. Giii[b]-Gvi[b].

[75] *Ibid.*, p. Gvi[b]. *Cf. Defensor pacis*, Dictio II, caps. xx, xxi, xxii.

people". And if parliament and convocation had granted to the king, along with the title of supreme head, authority over things "mere spirituall", *i.e.,* administration of sacraments, powers of consecration, etc., "it is no dout but that the graunt had been voyde: for they have no auctorite to chaunge the lawe of god".[76] It is noteworthy that this is the one case in which St. German conceived of the possibility of parliament erring. For as we have seen, it was his conviction throughout the crucial years of the early English Reformation that an infallible parliament was the only antidote to an absolute papal power and an aggressive ecclesiastical jurisdiction. As one of the first theorists of parliamentary sovereignty, St. German may be said to have paved the way for the Long Parliament and the execution of Charles Stuart.

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[76] *An Answer,* pp. Av, Biii, Giii[b]-Giiii.

AERONAUTICS IN THE CIVIL WAR[1]

THE recent report of the Senate committee headed by Senator Copeland together with the publication of the findings of the Durand Board have called popular attention to the subject of American military aeronautics.[2] These domestic incidents, taken in conjunction with the enormous air programs of the major European powers and the announcement of plans for a "balloon barrage" for London, have prompted wide-spread and serious thought on the whole problem of the use of the air for belligerent activities.[3] It may, therefore, be worth while at this time to turn backward some seventy-five years and examine the beginnings of American military aeronautics during the first half of the Civil War. Such a study has more than a parochial interest. For, as we have recently been reminded by competent foreign observers, it was in this great conflict of the nineteenth century that so many of the "modern" characteristics of warfare had their origin.[4]

This dictum is perhaps nowhere more valid than in the field of military aeronautics. The full story of the development of military

[1] In appreciation of courtesies extended during his search for materials for this paper the writer wishes to thank Mr. R. H. Haynes of the Harvard College Library; Mrs. Sarah Gale of the Vail Collection in the Library of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Mr. Martin Roberts of the Library of Congress; Mr. James E. Gourley of the New York Public Library; Miss Lois M. Fawcett of the Minnesota Historical Society; Mr. P. J. Halstead of the *St. Paul Pioneer Press;* Dr. Otto Graf zu Stolberg-Wernigerode of the University of Munich; Mr. Paul Edward Garber of the Smithsonian Institution; Major P. R. Davison of the Army War College; Adjutant General E. T. Conley of the War Department; Major C. A. Pivirotto of Governor's Island, N. Y.; Brigadier General Pelham D. Glassford of Phoenix, Arizona; the late Mary Johnston of Warm Springs, Va.; Mrs. Bella C. Landauer of New York City; and especially Mrs. Henry M. Brownback of Norristown, Pa., and Mr. Langdon Cheves of Charleston, S. C. Both of these latter persons kindly furnished the writer with transcripts of important and hitherto unpublished manuscript materials in their possession.

[2] For announcement of Senator Copeland's report on March 17, 1937, see the *Congressional Record,* 75 Cong., 1 sess., p. 2984. The findings of the Durand Board are well summarized in the *New York Times,* Feb. 2, 1936.

[3] The air programs are common knowledge; the initial journalistic mention of the "balloon barrage" may be read in the *New York Times,* Mar. 14, 1937.

[4] See the comments of B. H. Liddell Hart in the *Saturday Review of Literature,* XI (1935), 561 ff. and of Sir Frederick Maurice in the *Virginia Quarterly Review,* XI (1935), 438-439.

ballooning in the Union Army has, however, never been set forth.[5] It is true, of course, that the matter has not wholly escaped the attention of historians. Nevertheless, the interest and present importance of the subject will justify more careful treatment. This should show, first, the circumstances out of which American military aeronautics arose between 1861 and 1863 and, second, the remarkable work performed during that period by those pioneer American aeronauts, Thaddeus Sobieski Coulincourt Lowe and his colleagues. These, therefore, will be the objectives of this article.[6] As a useful preliminary, however, a short summary of the development of military aeronautics prior to 1861 will be given.

The use of the air as a medium for military activities was first made practical by the invention of the balloon in 1783.[7] Promptly the new possibilities were seized upon by military men, and in the French army between 1789 and 1799 there was organized the earliest approximation to a balloon corps.[8] The head of the French "aerostiers" was Captain J. M. Coutelle; their most important service was at the battle of Fleurus, June 26, 1794.[9] For a time the employment of balloons for military pur-

[5] Accounts of its origin, all in certain respects incomplete, may be found in a wide range of sources. An excellent bibliography on military aeronautics has appeared in the *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library, XL (1936), 947-954, 1037-1041. Titles in this list numbered as follows will be found useful: 3551, 3552, 3568, 3631, 3634, 3639, 3643, 3658, 3672, 3735. Not included in this list but also useful are the following: T. S. C. Lowe, "Observation Balloons in the Battle of Fair Oaks", *Review of Reviews*, XLIII (1911), 186-190, a fragment from the pen of the Chief Aeronaut of the Army of the Potomac identical in text with the material in *Photographic History of the Civil War* (New York, 1911), VIII, 370-382, the latter containing some rare photographs of the balloons; Francis T. Miller, *The World in the Air* (New York, 1930), II, 19-23; H. S. Mazet, "Lincoln, Patron of Military Aviation", *American Legion Monthly*, XVIII (1935), 30-33.

[6] None of the standard historians who have written on the period in question mentions these matters. But see A. M. Schlesinger, *Political and Social Growth of the United States, 1852-1933* (New York, 1933), p. 60, n. Although D. S. Freeman, *R. E. Lee* (New York, 1934), II, 87, 125, 446, 498, 505, refers to the Federal use of balloons in 1862-1863, his references are merely in passing; so also are those of Heros von Borcke, *Memoirs of the Confederate War for Independence* (London, 1866), I, 16, 33, 281.

[7] Miller (I, 125-220) presents an exhaustive and admirably illustrated account of the first balloons and their development between 1783 and 1800, both in Europe and in the United States. For the work of the famous American balloonist, Dr. John Jeffries, in 1784, see the *Dictionary of American Biography*.

[8] R. S. Waters, "Ballooning in the French Army during the Revolutionary Wars", *Army Quarterly*, XXIII (1932), 327-340.

[9] Geoffrey Bruun, "Three Letters of Saint-Just", *Journal of Modern History*, VI (1934), 159.

poses promised to become popular. Napoleon talked vaguely about invading England by balloon and on the retreat from Moscow expressed a longing to escape westward by air.[10] None of these early efforts, however, was very successful, and none led to any permanent results. All that was gained was the securing of considerable data on the problems of navigation through the atmosphere.[11]

In the United States there was likewise much interest in the new art of aeronautics. The first balloon ascension in this country was made on January 9, 1793, at Philadelphia in the presence of President Washington and many other prominent people. The aeronaut on this occasion was Pierre Blanchard, a Frenchman, who, accompanied by the American Jeffries, referred to above, had been the first to cross the English Channel by air.[12] So impressed was Washington by the ascension that in the following year he soberly predicted that at some future time it would be possible to cross from France to the United States by air.[13] A few years later an old acquaintance of Washington, the one-time Citizen Genêt, suggested that the polar regions be explored by balloon.[14]

It was the idea of crossing the Atlantic by balloon, however, that most fascinated the American mind. Every early balloonist was haunted by this dream. Edgar Allan Poe, playing upon its popularity, composed the most famous of all his literary hoaxes.[15] John Wise, the best known of all American balloonists prior to the Civil War, publicly proclaimed his intention of making the attempt. Professors and publicists argued its merits pro and con.[16] It was this perennial scheme which led to the

[10] *With Napoleon in Russia: The Memoirs of General de Caulincourt, Duke of Vicenza* (New York, 1935), pp. 234-236. Note the acrid comments on Napoleon's attitude towards balloons made by Liddell Hart in *Harper's Magazine*, CLXX (1935), 316.

[11] C. O. Paullin, "Early Use of Balloons in War", *United Service Magazine* (London), N. S., XXXIX (1909), 530-541; John Wise, *A System of Aeronautics comprehending its Earliest Investigations and Modern Practice and Art* (Philadelphia, 1850), pp. 60-146; Henry Coxwell, *My Life and Balloon Experiences* (London, 1887), I, 167-201; Elvira K. Fradkin, *The Air Menace and the Answer* (New York, 1934), pp. 96 ff.

[12] Miller, I. 209-216. See also the *New York Times*, Jan. 10, 1937, for an account of the celebration held in Philadelphia marking the 144th anniversary of Blanchard's ascent.

[13] *News Releases relating to the Life and Time of George Washington, prepared and issued by the United States George Washington Bi-Centennial Commission* (Washington, 1932), I, 609-611.

[14] See the feature story concerning Genêt in the *New York Times*, Apr. 19, 1936. He made his suggestion on January 15, 1826.

[15] Poe's story appeared in the *New York Sun* for April 13, 1844. Wise, pp. 235-246.

[16] One of the final essays in a long series was that by S. A. King, "How to cross the Atlantic in a Balloon", *Century*, LXII (1901), 855-859. King at this time was styled the "Nestor" of American balloonists, having made his first ascension just fifty years earlier.

early work of T. S. C. Lowe, around whose person the origins of American military aeronautics in the early months of the Civil War were destined to revolve.

Lowe was a native of New Hampshire who became interested early in life in science in general and in aeronautics in particular.[17] In 1858, when he was just twenty-six years of age, he made his initial balloon ascent in connection with a celebration attendant upon the laying of the first Atlantic cable. The very next year he began construction of an immense balloon in which he confidently believed he could cross the Atlantic.[18] Its first ascent was made in June, 1860, before a group of Philadelphia men from whom Lowe had secured substantial financial backing.[19] They were pleased at the showing but felt that further experimentation would be desirable before the hazardous trip across the ocean was attempted. This was also the view of the celebrated scientist, Joseph Henry, of the Smithsonian Institution, with whom Lowe became acquainted toward the end of 1860.[20] Henry was at this time interested in the formation of a governmental weather bureau and believed that ballooning over long distances and at high altitudes would greatly aid in assembling and checking atmospheric data.[21] He was impressed with young Lowe's energy, ingenuity, and enthusiasm and did not entirely discountenance his scheme of crossing the Atlantic by

[17] The sketch of Lowe in the *Dictionary of American Biography* is too brief to deal adequately with his aeronautic career.

[18] Lowe wrote a pamphlet describing this large balloon. It was entitled *The Airship, "City of New York"; A Full Description of the Air-Ship and the Apparatus to be employed in the Aerial Voyage to Europe. With a Historical Sketch of the Art of Ballooning and the Aeronaut's Address to the Public* (New York, 1859). A drawing of the craft appears in *Harper's Weekly* for September 24, 1859. Originally named "The City of New York", it was later rechristened the "Great Western". Lowe's balloon of 1859 was large even by modern standards: diameter, 130 feet; lifting power, 22½ tons; cubic capacity, 700,000 cubic feet. A part of this balloon is now on exhibition in the Aviation Building of the United States National Museum, Washington, D. C.

[19] Sixteen Philadelphians contributed "several thousand dollars" to the enterprise. See *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, ser. 3, vol. III, pp. 253-254. An indispensable source, this volume is hereafter cited as *O.R.*

[20] *Ibid.* It is interesting that the three balloonists, Lowe, Wise, and King (above, notes 11 and 16), were all acquainted with Joseph Henry and were all encouraged by him. They were also all deeply indebted to the friendly support of Philadelphia friends. In addition to the data cited for Lowe, consult Wise, page 229; and for King, the *Dictionary of American Biography*. Perhaps the fact that Blanchard had made his original ascension in Philadelphia, as already noted, may have had some connection with the continuing interest there in aeronautics.

[21] Charles Greeley Abbot, ed., *Smithsonian Scientific Series* (New York, 1929), I, 300-306.

balloon. But he counseled him to try a long land voyage first. Lowe accepted the suggestion but decided not to use his large balloon for the trip. Toward the middle of April, 1861, therefore, with a somewhat smaller craft named "Enterprise", he journeyed to Cincinnati to begin a free voyage in the atmosphere.

From that city early on the morning of April 20, 1861, he cast off for unknown landings. As proof that he was starting on the 20th of April he carried with him in his balloon several copies of that morning's issue of the *Cincinnati Commercial*. Some nine hours later, after a journey whose mileage has been computed variously, Lowe descended to earth nine miles west of Unionville, the county seat of Union County, South Carolina.[22] The rapidity of his trip and the prevailing direction of the winds convinced him then—and he never changed his mind—that a transatlantic crossing by balloon was entirely feasible.

The moment was highly inauspicious, however, for such an experiment. On the day previous to Lowe's balloon trip, President Lincoln had declared his first blockade of the Southern ports, and on the very day of the journey Robert E. Lee resigned from the United States Army. The ominous clouds of civil war were in fact gathering rapidly. So quickly indeed did Southern sentiment against the North and all its works mount that Lowe had the very greatest of difficulty in extricating himself from charges that he was a Yankee spy and in getting back across the Ohio river at all. Only after a circuitous and tedious trip through the back country of the Confederate West did he succeed once more in reaching Cincinnati, bringing back his balloon with him.

A few weeks later, on June 5, 1861, carrying the "Enterprise" with him, Lowe, with ambitious plans concerning the use of balloons in the impending war, journeyed to Washington to offer his services to the government. His ensuing actions are best indicated in his own words:

[22] There are two accounts by Lowe himself of this journey. One is very brief and undetailed (*O.R.*, p. 254). The other is much more complete, appearing in a symposium entitled *Navigating the Air* (London, 1907), pp. 127-156. The account in this latter source has been followed here. Evidently Lowe's course was a drifting one, for he speaks of having observed the coastal rice plantations, although he actually came to earth in the Piedmont region. There is an excellent account of this voyage published in honor of its seventy-fifth anniversary in the *New York Times* for April 19, 1936. The author of this newspaper story, Mr. Allan Nicholson, adds several sprightly details concerning Lowe's reception by the South Carolinians. On the trip Lowe at times ascended to a height of over 18,000 feet. His descriptions of what he saw at this altitude may be compared with the findings of such a contemporary as A. W. Stevens, "Exploring the Stratosphere", *National Geographic Magazine*, LXVI (1934), 397-434.

On arriving in Washington I immediately called on Professor Henry, who at once perceived the importance and value of my proposed operations. He had repeated interviews with the President of the United States, the Secretary of War (Mr. Cameron), and the officers of the Topographical Engineer Corps, and strongly urged the trial of experiments with my balloon to test its adaptation to the great work in which we were engaged. . . . Finally through the influence of Professor Henry, to whose disinterested and persevering support is in a great measure due the introduction of aeronautics into the military service of the United States, I was enabled to make preliminary experiments with the balloon I had brought to Washington.[23]

These first experiments were held on June 18, 1861. From a balloon anchored at an altitude of 1000 feet Lowe for the first time in history sent a telegram from the air to the earth.[24]

Lowe, however, was but one of numerous ballooning enthusiasts who hurried to Washington at the beginning of the war and besieged the War Department with all kinds of proposals for victory by use of the air. To mention a few of Lowe's rivals, of whose work he was very keenly aware,[25] the following might be named. There was James Allen of Providence, Rhode Island, an experienced balloonist, who arrived in Washington in July, 1861, with two balloons and a trained assistant, but whose experimental tryouts were dismal failures.[26] The famous John Wise, already mentioned, was on hand also with a balloon and an assistant named John LaMountain. His efforts, too, were unsuccessful.[27]

[23] Lowe to E. M. Stanton, May 26, 1863, *O.R.*, p. 254. For subsequent proofs of the value of Henry's support of Lowe's ideas, see *ibid.*, pp. 258-259; Abbot, I, 274-280; *Dict. Am. Biog.*, VIII, 550-553. President Lincoln gave Lowe a personal note of introduction and recommendation to General Scott. After the latter had on four separate occasions refused even to see the young balloonist, the President himself accompanied Lowe to the general's office and insisted that the aeronaut be given an opportunity to demonstrate his ideas. The presidential card of introduction to General Scott is now preserved in the Aviation Building of the National Museum.

[24] A wire affixed to the anchor rope was used for the telegram. W. J. Rhees, "Reminiscences of Ballooning in the Civil War", *Chatauquan*, XXVII (1890), 261, gives the text of this message. It was Lowe, not a rival balloonist named James Allen—as suggested by some writers—who was the principal in this affair.

[25] In his report of May 26, 1863, Lowe alludes to the fact that in the summer of 1861 he had at least three active competitors for governmental favor (*O.R.*, p. 303). These were almost certainly James Allen, John Wise, and the assistant of one or the other.

[26] On Allen consult the *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, IX, 210 and W. A. Glassford, "The Balloon in the Civil War", *Journal of the Military Service Institution of the United States*, XVIII (1896), 261. Allen later in the war joined Lowe's Balloon Corps and became one of his most ardent admirers (*O.R.*, p. 301). This James Allen (1824-1897) should be distinguished from General James Allen (1849-1921), Chief Signal Officer, U.S.A., 1906-1913.

[27] Glassford, *Jour. Mil. Serv.*, XVIII, 260; *O.R.*, p. 256. At the time of the Mexican War in 1846 Wise had urged the use of balloons in the army (Wise, p. 259).

There was John Steiner of New Jersey with a long career of aeronautics behind him.[28] And there was Solomon Andrews of New York with a most pretentious scheme for the development of a full-fledged aeronautical corps.[29] And still other men from time to time during the war came forward with variously ambitious schemes to achieve victory through the air.[30]

It is clear that Lowe's methods of operating balloons were superior to those of his rivals, or that his personality was more effective with the men in charge of the War Department, for early in August he was instructed "to construct a balloon for military purposes capable of containing at least 25,000 cubic feet of gas".[31] Perhaps the decision to give him this opportunity was hastened by the fact that in the confusion following the first battle of Bull Run Lowe had made an ascension and mightily aided in calming official Washington by his heartening report that no Confederate pursuit activity was visible.[32] At any rate, Lowe was busily occupied during August by the construction of a military balloon which he proudly named "Eagle".

During the month of September, 1861, Lowe put his new craft to good use. He made frequent ascensions from various points in the environs of Washington, testing his contrivance, taking observations, and carrying aloft a considerable number of selected passengers. It was not long before his skill in aerial navigation and his infectious enthusiasm for ballooning convinced many of the higher officers of the army that the balloon did actually possess admirable possibilities for recon-

[28] Steiner's career to August 9, 1863, is summarized in the *St. Paul Pioneer* of that date. Steiner was then out of the army. He, too, had been in Lowe's Balloon Corps during 1862 (see below, notes 47, 74).

[29] See his pamphlet, *Aerial Navigation and a Proposal to form an Aerial Navigation Company* (New York, 1865).

[30] Lowe mentions in a report dated March 30, 1863, the outline of a rival scheme for ballooning put forward by a man named B. Englend. Consider also the experiments in helicopters carried out between 1862 and 1865 by a group of aviation enthusiasts inspired by the famous astronomer general, O. M. Mitchell; see E. W. Serrell, "A Flying Machine in the Army", *Science*, XIX (1904), 952-955. The present practicability of this use of helicopters is vouched for in an article in the *Nation* (New York), CXLIV (1937), 292.

[31] A. W. Whipple to Lowe, Aug. 2, 1861, *O.R.*, p. 259. Unpublished materials in the Adjutant General's office indicate that Lowe "was authorized to construct a balloon in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, of 25,000 cubic feet capacity, and to purchase 1200 yards of Indian or pongee silk at $9.00 a yard, and sufficient linen thread and cordage, together with 1200 to 1500 feet of guys". Letter from Major General E. T. Conley to the writer, Mar. 10, 1937.

[32] The ascension was made on July 24, 1861 (*O.R.*, pp. 256-258).

naissance purposes.[33] Taking quick advantage of their good will, Lowe petitioned for an enlargement of the balloon force.[34] To his satisfaction Generals McClellan and Fitz-John Porter endorsed his request. Late in September the quartermaster general gave Lowe the welcome order stating that "four additional balloons be at once constructed under your direction, together with such inflating apparatus as may be necessary for them and for the one now in use".[35]

Thus was developed what may be called the first aeronautic corps in American history. A new unit, often acting as though it were independent and civil in status, it was not closely integrated with the regular services of the United States Army. Lowe himself, on December 22, 1862, called his organization the "Aeronautic Corps" and on March 30, 1863, the "Aeronautic Department".[36] It bore no relation at all to the Military Telegraph or to the Signal Corps, two other organizations of the Civil War period which were in the developmental stage.[37] Lowe himself was almost untrammeled in his powers of hiring personnel and in technical details of construction. He was officially under the direction of the Topographical Engineers and had detailed from them a few squads of privates to aid in the routine work of handling ascensions.[38] Generals like McClellan, when in the field, maintained liaison officers to keep contact between headquarters and the balloonists.[39]

By the end of November, 1861, the four balloons which had been authorized in September were completed. Lowe now had under his immediate direction a total of five new military craft together with several old balloons of the prewar period. The one built in August, as

[33] In particular Lowe won the esteem of Generals George B. McClellan, Fitz-John Porter, and A. A. Humphreys. The favor of McClellan, later commander of the Army of the Potomac, was of especial significance. The latter's own comments on Lowe, whom he characterized as "intelligent and enterprising", may be read in *McClellan's Own Story* (New York, 1887), p. 135; see also William Starr Myers, *General George Brinton McClellan* (New York, 1934), p. 273.

[34] Lowe to F. J. Porter, Sept. 16, 1861, *O.R.*, p. 262.

[35] M. C. Meigs to Lowe, Sept. 25, 1861, *O.R.*, p. 264.

[36] On April 15, 1863, Lowe styled himself "Chief of Aeronautics, Army of the Potomac". On some occasions he abbreviated this to "Chief Aeronaut, Army of the Potomac".

[37] The standard works on these two organizations barely mention Lowe; see J. W. Brown, *The Signal Corps, U.S.A.* (Boston, 1896), p. 310, and W. R. Plum, *The Military Telegraph during the Civil War in the United States* (Chicago, 1882), I, 16-17.

[38] Letter from Major General E. T. Conley to the writer, Mar. 10, 1937; Glassford, *Jour. Mil. Serv.*, XVIII, 258-259; *O.R.*, p. 278.

[39] During the Peninsular campaign in 1862 the liaison officer was Lieutenant Colonel J. N. Macomb (*O.R.*, p. 271).

already noted, was called "Eagle". The more recently constructed ones were named respectively "Constitution", "Washington", "Intrepid", and "Union".[40] Even with these Lowe was not satisfied; accordingly in December he petitioned for the right to build two additional craft.[41] The records are not explicit in the matter, but apparently this supplementary request was granted. In any event, by the beginning of 1862 this Aeronautic Corps consisted of at least five excellent balloons, built according to the latest design. When properly inflated with hydrogen, they could lift three men to an altitude of more than one thousand feet.[42]

But Lowe was not satisfied merely to supervise the construction of balloons and draw pay as a civilian adjunct of the Army of the Potomac. His fertile mind devised a number of auxiliary operations which were of real value in the services performed by his balloons. For example, he invented a system of portable generators which made possible quick and simple inflation of balloons while in the field. Using the well-known method of placing sulphuric acid in contact with iron filings, Lowe worked out a scheme which would generate enough gas to fill his largest balloon in two and a half hours. His balloons held their buoyancy for approximately a fortnight, so that he estimated the per diem cost of generating the gas at about $4.00. He made his equipment portable enough so that seven army wagons were able to haul the generators and gas-making materials for four balloons. It was the ease of generating the gas which singled out the Lowe system from that proposed by any other contemporary and which excited the greatest admiration from foreign observers.[43]

[40] *O.R.*, p. 268. The four new craft were promptly put into use (Lowe to A. V. Colburn, Dec. 3, 1861; *O.R.*, p. 268). Glassford (*Jour. Mil. Serv.*, XVIII, 259-260) gives some interesting details on the size of the balloons and their construction.

[41] Lowe to Colburn, *loc. cit.* See also Lowe's extensive reports dated November 20, 1862, and April 21, 1863 (*O.R.*, pp. 293, 309).

[42] Lowe to A. A. Humphreys, June 7, 1862, *O.R.*, p. 286. There are several photographs of these balloons, taken by the famous photographer, Matthew B. Brady, in the Aviation Building of the National Museum.

[43] Scattered descriptions of the Lowe system of portable gas generators may be found in *O.R.*, pp. 293, 300, 306. Glassford (*Jour. Mil. Serv.*, XVIII, 255) speaks admiringly of it also. There are draftsmen's sketches of the apparatus involved and Brady photographs in the Aviation Building of the National Museum. Exhibited there also are the actual altimeters, escape valves, and other instruments devised by Lowe for his balloons. Foreign observers, especially those from England, were profuse in their praises of the Lowe system. See the remarks of Fletcher Beaumont, "On Balloon Reconnaissances as practised by the American Army", *Papers on Subjects connected with the Duties of the Corps of*

In addition to these devices Lowe conceived and recommended to the high command for immediate adoption a number of schemes which astonishingly anticipated developments a half century later. These included a system of powerful calcium flares for night use; an arrangement whereby red, blue, green, or yellow lights could be attached to small free balloons and sent up for nocturnal signaling; a scheme for taking photographs from an elevation of thousands of feet for topographical study; and a system of magnifying glasses by which these might be enlarged.[44] Communication with the ground by an attached telegraph wire was, of course, a routine occurrence. It does not appear, therefore, as though Lowe's own summary of his work during the Civil War is exaggerated:

> Without wishing to disparage others, I may safely claim that my improved balloons and apparatus, including the portable gas generator . . . are the only ones which are found to be adapted to the wants of the army service, and that I have done more to perfect the system and render it efficient than all who have been engaged in the art since the experiments of Guy Lussac [*sic*] in 1784.[45]

With the opening of military operations in 1862, all this elaborate aeronautical system was to receive its first real test at the actual front. Late in 1861 the "Washington" had been sent to Port Royal, South Carolina, to assist in the operations of General T. W. Sherman there.[46] In January, 1862, another went to Commodore Foote for use in March and April in the attack on Island No. 10 near Cairo, Illinois. In charge of this latter craft was Captain John Steiner, once a rival, now a devoted assistant of Lowe's. Steiner, of whom more will later be said in connection with the meeting of Count Ferdinand Zeppelin and Lowe, used an anchorage system on the Mississippi recommended by his chief on the basis of previous experiments on the Potomac.[47]

Royal Engineers, XII (Woolwich, England, 1863), 94-103; also the judgment of the famous English aeronaut, Henry Coxwell (I, 177-187). Coxwell wrote along a similar vein in a letter to the London *Times,* Dec. 29, 1862. It was the very enthusiastic reports from English observers in America which prompted the first British military balloon experiments on July 14, 1862.

[44] Lowe to General Ambrose Burnside, Nov. 20, 1862, *O.R.,* pp. 293-294. Unfortunately for Lowe, these ideas fell athwart the traditional military conservatism and were never carried out.

[45] Lowe to Stanton, June 4, 1863, *O.R.,* p. 317.

[46] *O.R.,* pp. 266-268. The aeronaut detailed by Lowe to handle the Port Royal balloon was J. B. Starkweather.

[47] The following transcript of a memorandum drawn up by Lowe is pertinent: "J. H. Steiner, aeronaut, was employed under my direction in the Army of the Potomac previous

Despite these interesting auxiliary operations, most of the balloons and trained personnel were retained by Lowe under his personal direction for service in the projected attack on Richmond. McClellan had made a favorite of Lowe, and throughout the so-called Peninsular Campaign of 1862 the Balloon Corps was kept in constant use. How continuous its service was may be judged from the fact that in one instance Lowe was ordered to send reports of his observations at fifteen-minute intervals throughout the day.[48] Pictures were taken from the air on several occasions by Lowe in person.[49]

That these hundreds of aerial observations played a material part in the operations of the Union Army during that summer cannot be doubted. Too many facts are available as to the utility of the balloons to permit doubt in the mind of the historical student. It is a fact that a large number of the general officers of the army, including McClellan himself, frequently went aloft.[50] It is also a fact that many of the maps on which the troops depended for guidance in their forward movements were sketched from the air by competent draftsmen sent up for that purpose.[51] It is similarly true that such foreign observers as the Comte de Paris and Captain Fletcher Beaumont sought special permission to go aloft and often did so.[52] It is probably true that it was during this campaign that for the first time in history artillery was accurately used in firing at a target invisible to itself.[53] It is more than likely that at the

to the 19th of February, 1862. After the 19th of February, 1862, he was sent to the Western Department by order of Major General McClellan, where he remained until the first of July, 1862". Quoted by Mrs. Henry M. Brownback, daughter of Lowe, in a letter to the writer of March 22, 1935. The London *Times* described Steiner's services and mentioned him by name in special dispatches published in the issues of April 14 and 16, 1862. See also *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies*, ser. 1, vol. XXII, p. 771. Lowe's recommendations of the anchorage system may be read in *O.R.*, pp. 265-266.

[48] A. A. Humphreys to Lowe, June 1, 1862, *O.R.*, p. 281. On more than one occasion two balloons were in the air at the same time (*ibid.*, p. 279).

[49] Lowe had begun the use of photography from the air during the previous December (*O.R.*, p. 269). His accomplishment effectually disproves the claim that the Frenchman, Paul Nadar, made the first photographs from a balloon in 1886. As a matter of fact this had been done even before the Civil War. See an article on the subject in the *Boston Herald* for October 16, 1860.

[50] Among the general officers in addition to McClellan who at one time or another during the movement on Richmond went up with Lowe were Barnard, Berry, F. J. Porter, Heintzelman, and Stoneman. *O.R.*, pp. 271-291, *passim*.

[51] R. B. Marcy to Lowe, June 7, 1862, *O.R.*, p. 285.

[52] *O.R.*, p. 273; Beaumont, *Papers*, vol. XII, *passim;* special correspondence in the London *Times*, Apr. 29, May 1, June 12, June 17, July 8 and 16, 1862. See also A. W. Greely, "Balloons in War", *Harper's Magazine*, CI (1900), 33-50.

[53] Greely, *Harper's*, CI, 42-43; *Richmond Examiner*, May 26, 1862. The artillery observations had taken place during the fighting on May 24.

sanguinary battle of Fair Oaks on May 31-June 1, 1862, Lowe's observations alone saved the Army of the Potomac from a major defeat.[54]

As a final evidence of the value of the balloon observations during the opening phases of the Richmond attack, their effect on President Lincoln may be cited. It is known, of course, that Lincoln was personally acquainted with Lowe and that the Chief Executive had interceded on his behalf the year before.[55] It is known, too, that Lincoln was deeply disturbed by reports from the front during early June, 1862. Hence the significance of the following passage is very great: "He [Lincoln] was very blue last Sunday night when news came of the repulse of the left wing on the Chickahominy, but got better the next day *when the balloon man telegraphed every few minutes how Kearney was driving back the foe and recovering the lost ground.*"[56]

The Confederates were fully aware of the advantages conferred upon the Union army by its ability to take aerial observations. At the very beginning of the Peninsular Campaign the Confederate General Magruder had constructed a crude cotton bag, had it filled with hot air, and sent it aloft to counter Lowe's balloons. That it came to a speedy and inglorious end is not surprising.[57] Ballooning was a matter demanding long experience and skill, and success was not to be obtained by any amateur. Much more significant than this extemporized effort on Magruder's part was another Southern venture into aeronautics made in the latter part of June, 1862.

This was the so-called "silk dress balloon" which put in an appearance near Richmond on June 27. Various writers have described its construction, alleging that it was made of ladies' dresses surrendered by the loyal women of the South for this purpose.[58] Its true origin is less romantic but not less interesting. It was built in the spring of 1862 by Langdon Cheves, jr., member of the well-known family of that name,

[54] See the testimony summarized by Lowe, *Review of Reviews*, XLIII, 186-190; also his contemporary dispatches, *O.R.*, pp. 280-281.

[55] Above, n. 23.

[56] Henry A. Wise to Hamilton Fish, June 4, 1862. Quoted by Allan Nevins, *Hamilton Fish: The Inner History of the Grant Administration* (New York, 1936), p. 84; italics by the present writer.

[57] Its story is amusingly narrated by the unwilling aeronaut who was drafted for this service, John R. Bryan, "Balloon used for Scout Duty", *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XXXIII (1905), 32-42. Its final ascent was made just prior to May 5, 1862.

[58] See the short account of this balloon in James Longstreet, "Our March against Pope", *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (New York, 1889), II, 512-513; also William Wood, *Captains of the Civil War* (New Haven, 1921), p. 63. Both are misleading as to the real origin of the Southern balloon.

captain in the C.S.A., and citizen of Savannah, Georgia. He had been stationed at Port Royal, South Carolina, earlier in 1862 and had presumably seen Lowe's balloon sent to T. W. Sherman there.[59] It was built of new materials by Captain Cheves at his own expense in the Chatham Armory in Savannah.[60] By the middle of June, 1862, it was complete and was at once rushed to the Richmond front.[61] No hydrogen being available, the balloon was filled with city gas and carried to the fighting lines, affixed to a freight car. Between June 27 and July 4 daily ascensions were made and considerable useful reconnaissance work done. E. Porter Alexander, at that time Chief of Ordnance of the Army of Northern Virginia, was in charge of the balloon and "signalled information of the movement of Slocum's division across the Chickahominy to reënforce Porter" at the battle of Gaines's Mill. After the Union forces had reached Malvern Hill the inflated balloon was put on a small armed tug, the *Teaser,* and ascensions were made from her deck from July 1 through July 4. On the latter date the *Teaser* "got aground below Malvern Hill on a falling tide, and a large Federal gunboat, the *Maritanza,* came up and captured both boat and balloon, the crew escaping". With the loss of this balloon Confederate military aeronautics ceased. Under difficult circumstances the Southern inventors had attempted to improvise equipment to meet the new tactics developed by Lowe, but owing to the almost total lack of proper materials and trained personnel their efforts had not been a success.[62]

Regardless of aeronautic success or failure, however, the Union army during July, 1862, was forced to retreat. There followed for the Balloon Corps a period of inactivity. During July and August Lowe was absent on sick leave, and the balloons were in the hands of his subordinates who apparently lacked their chief's energy and initiative. Partly because of this fact and partly also because of the change in high command during

[59] See above, n. 46. The account in this article is based on transcripts of family documents made available to the writer by Mr. Langdon Cheves, nephew of the balloon builder and a citizen of Charleston, S. C.

[60] Langdon Cheves to the writer, Aug. 26, 1935.

[61] "The balloon *was not made* of ladies' dresses, but of new silk imported for that purpose". It was constructed of strips of silk, varnished with gutta-percha car-springs dissolved in naphtha. Its volume was about 7500 cubic feet. Quotation and data in letter from Langdon Cheves to the writer, Aug. 26, 1935; italics by Mr. Cheves. See also E. P. Alexander, *Military Memoirs of a Confederate* (New York, 1907), p. 172.

[62] Alexander, p. 172; *O.R.N.,* ser. 1, vol. VII, pp. 542, 543, 716. Captain Cheves, the builder of the 1862 balloon, was killed at Charleston, S. C., on July 10, 1863. "The inferior coal gas and the long distance from Richmond to the front and back again restricted altitude and rendered ascents difficult". Langdon Cheves to the writer, Aug. 12, 1935.

the summer, the balloons continued in their inactive state until almost the end of the year. During the interlude of McClellan's temporary reappointment to the command of the Army of the Potomac in the autumn, Lowe had reason to think that his Balloon Corps would soon resume its former activity.[63] But the supersession of McClellan by Burnside in November prevented the realization of these expectations. At Fredericksburg on December 12, 1862, the balloons played but a small part,[64] then lapsed into passivity once more.

In this period of disheartening inaction, as is now clear, a number of factors came into operation which tended to make the use of balloons as an effective auxiliary to the army increasingly unlikely in the future. In the tangle of arguments which arose out of the final resignation of Lowe some months later three main elements must be distinguished. In the first place, Lowe's health was precarious, and his physical condition such that continued service with the army was very unlikely.[65] In the second place, during the interval between the main campaigns of 1862 and 1863, Lowe's three chief friends among the general officers of the army, Generals McClellan, Fitz-John Porter, and A. A. Humphreys, each for a different reason, were removed from their positions where they could support Lowe and the Balloon Corps.[66] In their places, as fate would have it, came a group who for one reason or another were less interested in aeronautics than had been their predecessors, and with whom Lowe never came to be on terms of mutual understanding and respect. In the third place, during the early months of 1863 Lowe was enmeshed in a tangle of military red tape which thoroughly exasperated him and finally led to his resignation. The details are interesting. For one thing, Cyrus B. Comstock, Lowe's new chief from the Topographical Engineers, proceeded to lay out a system

[63] Lowe's confidence in McClellan's favor may be inferred from the following passage: "During the battle of Antietam General McClellan remarked on several occasions that the balloons would be invaluable to him, and he repeated this to me when I arrived, assuring me that better facilities should be afforded me in the future". *O.R.*, p. 292.

[64] Passing reference to the use of the Union balloons at Fredericksburg may be read in Alexander, p. 288; G. F. R. Henderson, *Stonewall Jackson and the American Civil War* (London, 1919), II, 307; and the London *Times*, Jan. 1, 1863.

[65] This fact is stressed by Mrs. Brownback in her letter to the writer of March 9, 1935.

[66] McClellan was, of course, removed from the command of the Army of the Potomac after Antietam; Porter was cashiered from the army on January 21, 1863; and Humphreys was made a field officer after Antietam. For a cogent summary of what the removal of these three officers from the commands which they had held in 1862 meant to Lowe, see Greely, *Harper's*, CI, 44-46. Mrs. Brownback in her letter to the writer of March 23, 1935, stresses the same point. Above, n. 33.

of strict control over Lowe which was revolting to his pride, especially since always hitherto he had been allowed a very large degree of latitude in his aeronautic operations.[67] Then Comstock reduced Lowe's remuneration from $10 to $6 a day. In addition he irritated him in other ways. He insisted, for example, that Lowe dismiss his father from the service; he reprimanded Lowe for communicating with the assistant secretary of war without sending his message through Comstock's office; he suggested that he would like to have the balloons conditioned for the new year's campaign by some other person than Lowe. While obviously Comstock was within his official right in all of these matters, nevertheless his high-spirited and talented subordinate soon came to the conclusion that it was not worth remaining with the army under such conditions.[68]

However, as a major battle between the two armies was obviously looming, Lowe deemed it his duty to withhold his resignation until after it had taken place. Accordingly he rendered his last service with his Balloon Corps during the battle of Chancellorsville.[69] He made numerous ascensions during the opening and closing stages of the battle, May 1-4, 1863, and sent terse and accurate information to headquarters.[70] That these dispatches were appreciated by General Hooker is indicated by the following message sent to Lowe after he had resigned from the army: "General Hooker sent over one of his aides at 10 a.m. to tell you to have two balloons up, and to keep them up all the time. I informed the aide that you had left the Army of the Potomac. Will you not write Hooker?"[71]

[67] Lowe was apprised of Captain Comstock's appointment as his immediate superior under date of April 7, 1863 (*O.R.*, p. 302).

[68] The details of this friction between the two men may be studied in *O.R.*, pp. 302-317, *passim*. It is possible that Comstock also disapproved of Lowe's going to Washington in March, 1863, to testify before the Committee of Congress on the Conduct of the War (*O.R.*, pp. 298-299). There is no printed evidence, however, that Lowe was actually heard by the committee. See *Report of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War* (Washington, 1863). It is hard to assess the merits of the Comstock-Lowe controversy. Lowe was an inventive genius accustomed to exceptional privileges in the handling of his balloons. Comstock was an expert engineer with a passion for strict obedience on the part of subordinates. Glassford (*Jour. Mil. Serv.*, XVIII, 261 ff.) defends Comstock as against Lowe, but Glassford was a military man too.

[69] The balloons employed at this time were the "Washington" and the "Eagle". Contemporary accounts of their appearance then may be read in the *Richmond Examiner* of May 1, 1863, and in Charles C. Coffin's *Four Years of Fighting* (Boston, 1866), pp. 181-182.

[70] *O.R.*, pp. 310-316; see also Henderson, II, 418-419, and Alexander, p. 324.

[71] J. F. Gibson to Lowe, May 8, 1863, *O.R.*, p. 317. This certainly seems to show that

On May 7, 1863, feeling that the immediate military crisis was past and believing that under conditions as they then were he could no longer honorably remain under Comstock's direction, Lowe resigned from the army.[72] With his resignation and departure from service the Union system of military aeronautics came to an abrupt end.[73] Despite all the efforts that Lowe had made during the more than twenty months of his service with the Army of the Potomac, the balloon organization collapsed with his departure, and no one was able or willing to rebuild it.

By an odd coincidence, however, at the very moment that the enthusiasm for aeronautics was fading out in the United States, it was being stimulated in the mind of a distinguished foreigner. For it was only a few days after his own resignation and during the course of the break-up of the Balloon Corps that Lowe met and conversed with Count Ferdinand Zeppelin, then on a brief visit to the United States.[74] While

General Hooker had not been consulted about the impending disintegration of the Balloon Corps.

[72] His defense of his conduct is dignified and convincing; see Lowe to Stanton, June 4, 1863, *O.R.*, pp. 317-319.

[73] Not until 1893 was military aeronautics revived as a part of the United States Army. In that year Captain W. A. Glassford purchased a military balloon in France, which was in continuous use until its destruction in Cuba in 1898; information from P. D. Glassford, son of W. A. Glassford, in a letter to the writer, September 4, 1935.

[74] During the spring and summer of 1863 Ferdinand Zeppelin (1838-1917) was in America, visiting Washington, the Army of the Potomac, and—for reasons not at all clear today—St. Paul, Minnesota. See Wilhelm Kaufmann, *Die Deutschen im amerikanischen Bürgerkriege* (Munich, 1911), p. 565; two articles by Zeppelin himself in the *New York Times*, Jan. 11, 1914, and Mar. 11, 1917; and a feature article in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, Mar. 9, 1917. There is a picture of Zeppelin at the headquarters of the Army of the Potomac in *Photographic History of the Civil War*, I, 113.

While in Washington, Zeppelin met Lowe. In reply to a query on this point, Mrs. Brownback, with contemporary documents available, writes: "Yes, my father met Count Zeppelin in Washington but I do not think Count Zeppelin made an ascension with him." Letter to the writer, Mar. 9, 1935. Since the balloons were dismantled at the time, no ascension was possible.

Later that summer, when Zeppelin was in St. Paul, Minnesota, John Steiner (above, notes 28, 47) was in the same city giving public balloon ascensions. See *St. Paul Pioneer*, Aug. 1, 4, 9, *et seq.*; also the reminiscent articles in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, Oct. 12 and 15, 1928. He had resigned from the Army of the Potomac on December 16, 1862, and gone back to his prewar occupation of professional ballooning: Mrs. Brownback to the writer, Mar. 23, 1935. While no contemporary evidence has been unearthed to substantiate the theory that it was with Steiner that Zeppelin made his first balloon ascent, it seems very likely that such was the case. Mrs. Brownback writes: "I have always thought that his [Zeppelin's] aeronautical experience had been gained with Steiner. . . . If you have evidence that Steiner was giving balloon ascensions in St. Paul, Minnesota, in 1863, and that Count Zeppelin was also there at that time, it seems more than a coincidence." Letter to the writer, Mar. 23, 1935.

too much should not be made of this contact between Lowe and Zeppelin, nevertheless it was an important link in the long chain of events which led to the conquest of the air by dirigibles.

It must not be thought that Lowe's departure from the army was viewed with equanimity by all. On the contrary, several of the Union generals genuinely regretted his going and sought to persuade him to come back. On more than one occasion they gladly testified as to the value of his work.[75] Their regret at the termination of military aeronautics was only equalled by the satisfaction with which many of the Confederate leaders viewed the same event. Perhaps the greatest compliment, in fact, that was ever paid Lowe was that from the pen of a distinguished opponent, General Alexander, who wrote, some years after the war:

> I have never understood why the enemy abandoned the use of military balloons early in 1863 after having used them extensively up to that time. Even if the observers never saw anything, they would have been worth all they cost for the annoyance and delay they caused us in trying to keep our movements out of their sight.[76]

But to blandishment of friend or satisfaction of foe Lowe paid no heed. His work with the army was done, and already he was turning to new interests.

The work of Thaddeus S. C. Lowe with his military balloons between 1861 and 1863 may justly be regarded as the pioneer activity of its kind in United States history.[77] While other scientists and inventors worked along somewhat the same lines during the period, he stood out

[75] On July 1, 1863, General S. V. Heintzelman wrote Lowe: "I would consider your balloons indispensable to an army in the field." On July 10, 1863 and on September 3, 1863, Generals Stoneman and Sedgwick wrote in similar vein. These letters are now on file in the Aviation Building of the National Museum. Similar testimony might be multiplied from the pages of the Army *Official Records* (*e.g.*, ser. 1, vol. XI, pt. 1, pp. 456-462).

[76] Quoted by Rhees, *Chatauquan*, XXVII, 261. See another observation along the same line by General Alexander in his *Military Memoirs of a Confederate*, p. 173. Following a parallel train of thought, Freeman (*R. E. Lee*, II, 109) refers to Lowe's craft as those "troublesome observation balloons".

[77] The significance of Lowe's work has been admitted by all those writers who, however incompletely, have examined the matter. See C. A. Boynton, "Ballooning for the Federals", *Sportsman Pilot*, V (1931), 44-45; Percy Hamlin, "Aerial Observation, Army of the Potomac", *U. S. Air Services*, XIX (1934), 16-19; E. L. Jones, "Our Air Force in the Civil War", *National Aeronautic Association Review*, III (1925), 100-103.

Was it a knowledge of Lowe's balloons or of the Cheves balloon that gave Jules Verne the idea for his celebrated romance, *The Mysterious Island* (trans., New York, 1875)? For this query the writer is indebted to the late Mary Johnston of Warm Springs, Va., whose own novel, *The Long Roll* (Boston, 1911), p. 441, describes the Cheves balloon of 1862.

head and shoulders above them all. But the significance of his activity was not limited to the United States. Carefully studied by trained European observers, the Lowe Balloon Corps furnished a model organization and experimental data which were welcomed by all the subsequently organized aeronautic departments of foreign armies.[78] And, lastly, Lowe's work gave to the man himself a meed of experience and fame which were to bring him attention all the rest of his life.[79]

Ingenious Yankee that he was, Lowe began a modern development in applied science of which no man today can see the end.[80] Thwarted by the rigidity of the orthodox military mind,[81] he failed during the American Civil War to establish for himself a secure place in our popular annals. But the portent of his work, which escaped the attention of most of his contemporaries, is very clear today. It is no discredit to him that few chronicles of the Civil War narrate his activity. Rather it is another evidence that we easily forget those whose destiny it is to be ahead of their time.

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[78] The following works for the various countries all mention the influence of the Lowe Balloon Corps: ENGLAND: J. Templer, "Military Balloons", *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution,* XXIII (1879), 173-184; Sir Charles M. Watson, "Military Ballooning in the British Army", *Occasional Papers of the Royal Engineers' Institute,* XXVIII (1902), 39-59; FRANCE: G. Bethuys, *Les aerostiers militaires* (Paris, 1889), pp. 102-104; Jacques Courty, *L'aerostation et ses applications militaires* (Paris, 1900); RUSSIA: *Kratkii Istoricheskĭ Ocherk Voennago Vozdukhoplavaniea v Rossii* (St. Petersburg, 1904); GERMANY: F. vom Hagen, *Geschichte der militärischen Aëronautik* (Berlin, 1882).

[79] After a long life of scientific achievement in many fields, Lowe died in Pasadena, California, on January 16, 1913, in his eighty-first year. There are good summaries of his later scientific accomplishments in the *Dictionary of American Biography* (XI, 452-453); Waldemar Kaempffert, ed., *A Popular History of American Invention* (New York, 1924), I, 555-557; *Scientific American,* CVIII (1913), 86. An amusing sidelight on his continuing interest in aeronautics is revealed by the fact that he handled the balloon for the first aerial wedding in American history in Central Park, New York City, on November 8, 1865; Bella C. Landauer, "Matches made in the Heavens", *Sportsman Pilot,* X (1933), 12-14. A more serious evidence of this same interest is his balloon assistance to Pedro II of Brazil during the latter's war with Paraguay between 1866 and 1870. Concerning this episode Mrs. Brownback writes: "Dom Pedro II was very glad to pay liberally for my father's balloons, and though my father refused a commission in the Brazilian army to command an aeronautic corps, still he sent a full equipment and very capable aeronauts to take charge." Information in letter to writer, Mar. 23, 1935. A letter from the Brazilian ruler to Lowe expressing hearty thanks for the latter's help is preserved in the Aviation Building of the National Museum.

[80] Henderson (II, 480) pays a deserved tribute to the work of such American inventors as Lowe in altering the evolution of the military art.

[81] C. R. M. F. Cruttwell, *A History of the Great War, 1914-1918* (Oxford, 1934), pp. 626-627, comments on this same tendency in the World War.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

A Note on the Bill of Rights

MUNICIPAL LIBERTIES AND FREEDOM OF PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

The general character of the Bill of Rights and the general effect of its statement of existing law have been the subject of many a commentary. Certain of its clauses have been treated separately, notably in works on constitutional law. But the great constitutional document of 1689 has never been subjected to such searching examination as McKechnie applied to Magna Carta.[1] It is the purpose of the present study to make a thorough inquiry into the meaning of a few of the Bill's significant words and phrases, in the belief that such an examination will add to our understanding of the document and of the Revolution whose major monument it is.

The words and phrases which we propose to examine are simple. In its indictment of James II the Bill sets forth that he sought to "extirpate . . . the Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom . . . (7) By Violating the *Freedome of Election of Members to serve in Parlyament*". It then rehearses William of Orange's intervention, in consequence whereof Lords and Commons, "being now assembled in *a full and free Representative of this Nation*", are enabled to vindicate and assert "their auntient Rights and Liberties", declaring "(8) That the Election of Members of Parlyament ought to be free".[2] The meaning of the italicized words is

[1] For examples of commentaries on the Bill of Rights, see, among others, J. Mackintosh, *History of the Revolution* (Paris, 1834), II, 329; L. von Ranke, *History of England* (Oxford, 1875), IV, 515; T. B. Macaulay, *History of England* (Firth ed., London, 1913), III, 1300-1310; IV, 1762; G. M. Trevelyan, *England under the Stuarts* (London, 1912), p. 448; R. Lodge, *History of England, 1660-1702* (London, 1918), pp. 305-313; G. B. Adams, *Constitutional History of England* (New York, 1921), p. 358; T. P. Taswell-Langmead, *English Constitutional History* (London, 1929), pp. 593-606; G. N. Clark, *The Later Stuarts* (Oxford, 1934), p. 140. The most explicit commentary is that of W. S. Holdsworth, *History of English Law*, VI (London, 1924), pp. 230-243.

[2] *Statutes of the Realm*, VI, 142 (1 W. & M. sess. 2, c. 2). The italics are mine. The phrase "full and free Representative of this Nation" is a description of "The Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons, now sitting at Westminister". On February 20, 1688/9 they declared themselves a parliament, which word may, therefore, be regarded as a synonym for the word "Representative" employed in the Bill. *Commons' Journals*, X, 31.

in appearance obvious—so obvious that they have long been immune from investigation. It can, however, be demonstrated that they had a very precise, not to say technical, meaning in the minds of those who framed the Declaration of Rights and the subsequent Bill.

A week after the Convention met, a committee was resolved on "to bring in general Heads of such things as are absolutely necessary to be considered, for the better securing our Religion, Laws, and Liberties". In the debate that day specific mention was made of the need for considering the purging of corporations and the danger of the commissions for regulating corporations which had been so active in recent months.[3] The initial report of the committee followed speedily, and among the heads agreed to were "(8) The Right and Freedom of electing Members of the House of Commons . . . to be preserved", and "(13) Cities, Universities, and Towns Corporate, and Boroughs, and Plantations, to be secured against *Quo Warrantos,* and Surrenders, and Mandates; and restored to their ancient Rights". On further consideration the committee proposed that new laws should be enacted to secure both freedom of elections and the rights of corporations. However, this action eliminated only one of these topics from immediate consideration. In fact the committee's draft of the Declaration was accepted in the course of that same day's sitting, and the charge of violating "Freedome of Election", the characterization of the Convention as "a free Representative of the Nation", together with the assertion "That the Election of Members of Parliament ought to be free" all took their places in the document.[4] They were not modified in the course of the debates which followed, nor were they altered in the long process of transforming the Declaration into statute law.

In the proceedings upon the Declaration of Rights two things are clear from the start: freedom of election was constantly in the minds of the Convention, and, simultaneously, the status and defense of municipal rights commanded attention. An examination of the documents which record the progress of the Revolution in 1688 exhibits a similar state of affairs in the pre-Convention period. It further indicates that the liberties of corporations and the freedom of parliament were considered in close association, and that the view came generally to prevail,

[3] *Commons' Journals,* X, 15 (Jan. 29, 1688/9); A. Grey, *Debates* (London, 1763), IX, 30, 32.

[4] *Commons' Journals,* X, 17 (Feb. 2, 1688/9), 21 (Feb. 7). The Declaration was accepted by both houses and its enrollment ordered on February 12, 1688/9. *Lords' Journals,* XIV, 124; *Commons' Journals,* X, 28.

in the camp of Orange and at the court of James II, that the latter could not exist without the former.

The first of the documents which support these contentions is the invitation to William of Orange signed by the seven peers on June 30, 1688. In it the Lords express their fears lest the present state of things be "changed to the worse before another year", in part through changes "expected from a packed parliament".[5] Some months later the bishops, summoned to give counsel to the king, humbly advised "(8) That your majesty will be graciously pleased to supersede all farther Prosecution of Quo Warranto's against Corporations, and to restore to them their Ancient Charters, Privileges, and Franchises", and "(9) That if it so please Your Majesty, Writs may be issued out with convenient speed for the calling of a Free and Regular Parliament".[6] The close association of the projects for corporate reform and for a free parliament is notable here. It may have been merely fortuitous. Scrutiny of other pronouncements of the prince and his partisans, however, strongly supports the contention that not merely the association of the topics but the very order in which they are listed was the result of a conviction that the first was a necessary preliminary to the second.

William's first Declaration, on October 10, 1688, records the seizure of charters "of most of those Towns that have a Right to be represented . . . in Parliament", the surrenders of charters, and the placing of new magistrates. It proceeds to assert that "the last and great Remedy" for all the evils from which the realm suffered was "the Calling of a Parliament". However, so long as the "Magistracy is in such Hands it is not possible to have any lawful Parliament . . . all Elections of Parliament-men ought to be made with an intire Liberty". Hence William's descent upon England "for no other design than to have a free and lawful Parliament assembled as soon as possible; and in order to this, all the late Charters by which the Election of Burgesses are limited . . . shall be considered null and of no Force". To the same end magistrates unjustly turned out are to be restored, and "all the Boroughs of England shall return again to their ancient Prescriptions and Charters".[7] Kaspar

[5] John Dalrymple, *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1771), II, app., pt. 1, p. 228.

[6] Sunderland to Archbishop of Canterbury and others, Sept. 24, 1688, Public Record Office, State Papers 44/56,442; [Thomas Sprat], *The Bishop of Rochester's Second Letter* (London, 1689), p. 33.

[7] *Commons' Journals*, X, 1-4. It is interesting to observe that at the time of his landing in England in 1685 Monmouth issued a Declaration which, like William's three years later,

Fagel's labors in composing this Declaration were shared by Gilbert Burnet. Apparently it was while the learned doctor was so engaged that he wrote his *Enquiry,* and naturally this popular pamphlet repeats the arguments set forth in William's pronouncement. Burnet devotes his attention to the "Foundations of this Government". The first is the authority of law, gravely affected by the use of the dispensing power. "The next thing in our Constitution which secures to us our Laws and Liberties, is a free and lawful Parliament". But, he argues, "Preingagements" of those who may be elected, and of electors as well, prevent a parliament being chosen, as it ought, "with an entire Liberty". Regulations are made that persons recommended may be chosen, and so many returning officers are "under now an Incapacity by Law" that elections generally will be null and void. It is "impossible to have a Free and Legal Parliament in this state of things".[8]

References to the nature and results of the major assault on corporate liberties then under way are prominent both in the prince's Declaration and in the tract. Equally striking in both is their logically developed argument that free elections were impossible under the circumstances produced by the attack, and that, consequently, a free and legal parliament was impossible until James's proceedings had been reversed. Both documents were widely circulated, and their theme was rendered yet more widely known by partisan pamphlets. One, it is true, limits its observations to the effort made to move the Dissenters "to join with willing Sheriffs in violating the Rights of Elections, which are the Root of the Liberties of England". A second goes further in its assertion that by "seizing of Charters, and practicing upon the Freedom of those who have a Right of electing Members of Parliament, he [James] hath overthrown the whole Legislative part of the Government, and subverted the very fundamental Constitutions of the Realm". Another, more formidably proportioned, declares "Freedom of Elections" to be "the Foundation of the Government" and mentions in explicit detail the "infinite artifices" employed to destroy the charters of boroughs electing four fifths of the Commons. It concludes, with William and Burnet, that it is "impossible to have a Legal Free Parliament elected . . . in the present

mentioned the corruption of parliament by James, promised the repeal of the Corporation Act and the restoration of charters, and declared that the surrenders of charters "were null and void in law". The action of 1688, therefore, did not lack for precedent. James Ralph, *The History of England* (London, 1744), I, 873.

[8] Gilbert Burnet, *An Enquiry into the Measures of Submission,* in *State Tracts* (London, 1692), p. 487.

State of the Cities and Boroughs" and insists that "until there be a just Restoration of the Customs and Liberties of the Cities and Buroughs" there can be no "legal free consent of the nation" in the making or the repeal of laws.[9]

Agreement on the part of King James with the arguments advanced by the Prince of Orange and his partisans came only as a result of pressure rigorously applied. It is, however, significant that even before acceptance of his opponents' theories was forced upon him, the monarch sought to allay fears regarding the actions of his proposed parliament and to strengthen the fiction that the pliant body which he and his agents had been striving to produce was one freely chosen. Nearly a month after the announcement of August 24 that a parliament was to meet in November, a proclamation appeared in the *London Gazette*. It not merely indicated James's determination "to endeavour a Legal Establishment of an Universal Liberty of Conscience" and at the same time "to preserve the Church of England" and deny membership in the House of Commons to Catholics but in addition directed that "for the preventing any Disorders, Irregularities, or undue Proceedings whatsoever" all officers concerned with "the Execution of any Writ . . . for or concerning the Choice of Members of the ensuing Parliament . . . cause such Writ . . . to be duly Published and Executed . . . And the Members that shall be chosen, to be fairly Returned according to the true Merits of the Choice".[10] In stressing the freedom and legality of electoral procedure James was not entirely free from compulsion since he confessed that he published his proclamation "lest those, whose Right it is to choose Members of Parliament should lye under any Prejudices and Mistakes through the Artifices of disaffected Persons". But whatever the degree of pressure, the outstanding fact is James's apparent subscription to the principle of free elections. He was adopting for his own, albeit with his own curious limitations, one of the principles which his opponents emphasized.

Only a week after the appearance of the above proclamation, James was forced publicly to acknowledge the existence of strong pressure upon him. On September 28 a proclamation announced the recall of writs for the November parliament in view of the certainty of invasion. From

[9] *Reflections on Monsieur Fagel's Letter,* in *State Tracts* (1692), p. 341; *A Brief Justification of the Prince of Orange's Descent into England,* in *ibid.* (1705), p. 140; *A Memorial from the English Protestants,* in *ibid.*, pp. 1-37.

[10] P.R.O., Privy Council 2/72, 727 (Aug. 24, 1688); *London Gazette,* No. 2384. The proclamation's date is September 21, 1688.

that time on James had to listen to the advice of bishops and give heed to the impression produced on the public mind by William's Declarations and the Orange pamphlets. It was for William to call the tune. James, perforce, must suit his steps to it. As the French ambassador shrewdly observed, the court was bending every effort to do all that William promised and to do it before the prince should land.[11] It is in this light that we must view the actions of James in restoring the London charter, in directing lords lieutenants to inquire into abuses connected with recent regulations, and in providing for the general restoration of charters and displaced magistrates. The canceling of surrenders and the entering of nolle prosequis on quo warrantos, the discharge of magistrates appointed since 1679, together with the restoration of London companies to their former franchises were all due to the same desire.[12] It is remarkable that each of these actions removed some definite obstacle to free elections which had figured in previous complaints. A more perfect acceptance of the arguments of the opposition was, however, soon forthcoming.

Once William was on English soil James was enabled to twist the prince's thesis to his own purpose. The day after the landing at Torbay James proclaimed his belief that William, with his foreign army, was "the sole Obstruction of . . . a Free Parliament". But at the same time the king admitted the full strength of William's contentions in respect to corporate liberties. He promised a parliament, when England should be "delivered from this Invasion . . . which can no longer be liable to the least Objection of not being freely chosen, since We have actually restored all the Boroughs and Corporations of this our Kingdom to their ancient Rights and Privileges".[13] The identical argument is repeated in James's proclamation of November 30, 1688, in which he insisted that corporations had been restored so "that nothing may be wanting on Our Part towards the freedom of Elections". The same motive caused the king to command all persons "that they presume not by Menace, or any other undue Means, to Influence Elections, or procure the Vote of any Elector", and ordered all officials to cause writs to be promptly published

[11] Barrillon to Louis XIV, Oct. 18/28, 1688, Archives de la ministère des Affaires étrangères, Correspondance politique, Angleterre, vol. 166, f. 357.

[12] [Sunderland] to the attorney general, Oct. 3, 1688, S.P.44/338, 104; same to Duke of Berwick, Oct. 9, 1688, S.P. 44/56, 451; same to Earl of Bath, Oct. 9, 1688, Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report* XV, app. 7 (1898), p. 111; P.R.O., Patent Roll 4 James II, pt. IX; S.P. 44/338, 113, 119.

[13] *State Tracts* (1705), p. 58.

and fair returns made.[14] It is true that in response to the petition of the bishops and lords for a "Parliament, Regular and Free in all its Circumstances", the monarch reverted to his argument that a parliament could not be "Free in all its Circumstances . . . whils't an enemy is in the Kingdom, and can make a Return of near an Hundred Voices".[15] Nevertheless James had capitulated. He had repeatedly admitted the logic of his adversaries' claim that corporate franchises must be restored before England could possess a free parliament. By so doing he made his significant contribution towards giving a precise meaning to the current catch phrases of the Revolution—"Free Elections" and "Free Parliament".[16]

Proceedings in the two parliaments of 1689-1690 give additional support to our contention. The attack which there developed upon the devices which James II had so carefully perfected to control corporations, and through them to determine parliamentary elections, was begun early. It was long sustained, although it faltered and, with few exceptions, failed in its final phases. Because of the degree of interest displayed, one is tempted to declare that the situation in which the king had placed the parliamentary boroughs was rated as the grievance of grievances, if only for partisan purposes. On February 25, 1688/9, a motion was made in the Commons for the appointment of a special committee to "consider of the Violations of the Liberties and Franchises of all the Corporations of this Kingdom, and particularly of the City of London". The motion was lost, but the matters of the day's debate were referred to the Grand Committee for Grievances whose ensuing actions gave rise to the projected bill for restoring corporations and to the act "Restoreing the City of London to its ancient Rights and Priviledges".[17] In its report

[14] *London Gazette*, No. 2406. The argument is again repeated in James's letter to the lords of the council on January 4/14, 1688/9. *Lords' MSS.*, Hist. MSS. Comm., *Report* XII, app. vi (1889), p. 20.

[15] *State Tracts* (1692), p. 430.

[16] It should be observed that William exhibited a proper respect for his own thesis and further accented a favorite theme when, in the letters directing elections to the Convention, he stipulated that the persons addressed should proceed "uprightly", and that "Elections . . . be made by such Persons only as, according to the ancient Laws and Customs, of Right ought to choose Members for Parliament". It is also noteworthy that he met James's attempted counterattack by an order that troops be removed from places where elections were to be held in order that "such Elections may be carried on with the greater Freedom". *Commons' Journals*, X, 7; *London Gazette*, No. 2146. The date of the order is January 5, 1688/9.

[17] *Commons' Journals*, X, 35. It should be noted in connection with the prevailing concern for the status of corporations that on this same day leave was given to bring in a bill repealing the Corporation Act of 1661. This barely survived a second reading. *Ibid.*, pp. 74, 183.

on March 5 the committee and the House branded as illegal and as grievances (1) the invasion of London's rights in 1682, (2) the judgment in the London quo warranto, (3) the late quo warrantos against cities, etc., (4) commissions and instructions for regulating corporations and tests "in order to electing Members of Parliament", and (5) the promising of votes to take off the penal laws and the test in violation of the rights of parliament. It further recommended a special committee "to examine the Matters aforesaid; and who were the Authors and Advisers thereof". The topics are those which, we have observed, were emphasized at an earlier time, and the connection between certain of them and freedom of election or parliament is again stressed. The debates of the day accent this connection. One speaker insisted, "they have broken Privileges of Parliament by taking away Corporation Charters, by engaging Subscriptions to elect such as the King shall nominate, to overthrow the very foundations of Parliament". Another declared, "The next is the murdering our Civil Rights in Corporations in taking away Charters &c".[18] Such utterances of Whig stalwarts leave nothing to inference.

When the bill for restoring corporations was ultimately brought in, it too stressed the relationship between corporate liberties, elections, and parliament. The assault on such corporations as sent "representatives to serve in Parliament" was declared part of a design to "subvert the constitution of the English Government". Such proceedings were again stigmatized as "illegal", and "tending to the subversion of the laws and constitution of the Government both in Church and State". The gravity of the offense was held to justify an attempt to lay heavy penalties on persons directly involved and was responsible for raising the last Commons' debates on the bill to fever pitch.[19]

Eventually the bill reached the Lords. In the ensuing debates the necessity of corporate liberties as a prerequisite to parliamentary freedom was again developed. Judges referred to it when they pronounced against surrenders of charters. Atkyns declared: "Though it [the charter and its franchises] is granted to a small town it is not theirs but the whole kingdom's. [The interest of] all the people of England is concerned". Lechmere averred: "To my understanding all corporations that send members to Parliament cannot surrender. They cannot waive it [and] destroy it. Out at this leak may run all the Government of England". The peers who protested against removing the stigma of illegality

[18] *Ibid.*, X, 41; Grey, IX, 138, 140.

[19] *Commons' Journals*, X, 51; *Lords' MSS.*, p. 422; Grey, IX, 510-520.

from surrenders similarly stressed the fact that "The Surrenders . . . being for the Intent and Purpose of Returning such Parliament-men whom the King should appoint, was for the Subversion of Laws and Liberties of England". To remove this brand "seems to be the justifying of the most horrid Action" of King James and "a denying the chiefest Grievance mentioned in King William's Declaration . . . and the greatest Inducement for the People's taking up Arms".[20]

Inevitably the presentation of the bill restoring London's liberties by the Grand Committee for Grievances was the signal for a further display of the same convictions. In the Commons, Henry Powle raised the question "of what shall this House consist" if corporations can be dissolved by court action and insisted that the judgment of 1683 "strikes at the root and foundation of the Government". In the Lords dissenting peers would allow London's counsel more time since their case affected not London alone, "but all the Corporations in England, that are by Prescription, and in consequence the Legislative of this Government".[21]

Other activities of the two houses in this same period stress the importance of the attack on corporations and exhibit a desire for vengeance upon its authors. It was proposed that persons implicated be left out of the bill of indemnity. Individuals involved were sought out by a committee of inspections and one on the lieutenancy of London in the Lords, while the roles of Richard Graham and Philip Burton in directing quo warrantos was one of the causes for the attack upon them in the Commons.[22] Since the discussion of these matters did not establish a further record of the argument which is now our main concern, they only require mention as evidence of the importance of corporate liberties in parliament's eyes.

On the contrary, two further items, both of the year 1690, demand careful attention. The first is the preamble to "An Act to Declare the Right and Freedome of Election of Members to serve in Parlyament for

[20] *Lords' Journals*, XIV, 423; *Lords' MSS.*, p. 430. Tracts of this period repeat the argument: *e.g.*, *Plain English*, in *State Tracts* (1706), p. 79; *Speech of . . . Earl Warrington*, *ibid.*, p. 193; John Hamden, *Some Considerations*, *ibid.*, p. 309; [Major Wildman and Mr. Hamden], *An Inquiry*, *ibid.*, p. 330. The last declares, "this [the surrender of charters] struck at the very Root of all the Liberties of England, that the People should never again have a free Parliament".

[21] Grey, X, 41; *Lords' Journals*, XIV, 489, 495. The bill received royal assent on May 20, 1690. *Ibid.*, p. 504.

[22] *Commons' Journals*, X, 32, 145; *Lords' MSS.*, pp. 45 ff.; *Lords' Journals*, XIV, 331, 377-394, 491; Grey, IX, 65.

the Cinque-Ports". Mindful of the Bill of Rights, it recites that "the Elections of Members to serve in Parlyament ought to be Free", and on that premise proceeds to annihilate the claim of lords wardens to nominate one member of "each of the said Cinque-Ports the two antient Townes and their respective Members".[23] This act is merely the logical application of one portion of the Revolutionary theory to a specific case. The second, and far more significant, piece of evidence is derived from John Locke's *Two Treatises on Civil Government.* There the philosopher and apologist of the Revolution clearly states his position. The legislative, he insists, loses its essential character as an assembly of delegates "when by the arbitrary power of the prince, the electors or way of election are altered without the consent and contrary to the common interest of the people". The supreme executor "acts contrary to his trust . . . when he openly pre-engages the electors, and prescribes, to their choice, such as have promised beforehand what to vote and what to enact. Thus to regulate candidates and electors, and new model the ways of election, what is it but to cut up the government by the roots, and poison the very fountain of public security?"[24] Locke merely reiterates the anti-Jacobean argument as part of his political philosophy.

In the period of the Revolution, then, we observe the early prominence accorded to the demand for the abolition of James II's system for control of corporate liberties and with it an insistence on the meeting of a free parliament. At the start these items were dissociated. They were, however, speedily brought into association and almost instantly thereafter framed into a powerful and lucid argument to the effect that a guarantee of free elections, by the maintainence of corporate liberties, was essential to a free parliament. First advanced by William and Burnet, later taken over by King James, developed by the Convention and ensuing parliaments, proclaimed in terms of political theory by Locke, this thesis gained steadily in distinction and in popularity. Its prominence and its pervasive character in the period 1688-1690 fully justify the conclusion that the framers of the Bill of Rights used the phrases "Freedome of Elections" and "free Representative of the Nation" with the definite purpose of indicating their agreement with its every feature. Through their action it became the law of the land.

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[23] *Statutes of the Realm,* VI, 170 (2 W. & M. c. 7).

[24] *Two Treatises on Civil Government* (New York, 1884), pp. 302-307.

Fictitious Biography

Anyone who has ever used reference books critically knows that errors, sometimes very surprising errors, creep into even the best of them. One has only to examine lists of errata to learn what amazing things can be done, with perfectly honest intentions, by copyist, printer, and proofreader in standard and thoroughly reliable works. The insertion of entirely fictitious articles is not, however, usually suspected. The most critical reader would ordinarily regard the appearance of an article on Louis Gustave Harmand, let us say, in a standard biographical dictionary as pretty good reason for believing that such a man actually lived and did substantially the deeds with which he is credited. However, in the case of at least one biographical dictionary, *Appletons' Cyclopædia of American Biography,* there is good reason for believing that such an assumption is not warranted.

This work, one of the first important American biographical dictionaries, was published almost fifty years ago, in 1887-1889. Although now out of print, it is still to be found in many libraries, large and small, throughout the United States. It has long been regarded as a reliable source for biographical information, including information about Latin Americans and Europeans closely identified with American history. In the first of these fields, which is beyond the scope of the *Dictionary of American Biography,* it has not been superseded.

That all was not well with some of the articles in these two fields seems to have been suggested for the first time in print by Dr. John Hendley Barnhart in an article entitled "Some Fictitious Botanists".[1] In this he reprinted, with comments, fourteen biographical sketches of botanists, which, he was convinced, were entirely fictitious. According to accounts in the *Cyclopædia,* the subjects of these sketches, with one exception, were Europeans who had come to the New World to study the botany of Latin America. The one exception was born in the West Indies but later settled in France. Although several of them visited the United States, none remained very long, and not one of the sixty-nine works which they are said to have written deals with territory which was a part of the United States when the book in question was written. Most of them lived in the eighteenth century or earlier, although a few lived on into the nineteenth century. A summary of this article appeared in the New York *Sun* on October 12, 1919, and a more extended summary,

[1] *Journal* of the New York Botanical Garden, XX (Sept., 1919), 171-181.

written by Frank M. O'Brien, was recently printed in the *New Yorker*.[2]

Others, however, were discovering the existence of fictitious articles. When work on Sabin's *Dictionary of Books relating to America* was resumed in the middle of the letter S, the *Cyclopædia* was used as a source for titles. Members of the staff soon found that it contained titles which could not be verified. These were not, of course, included in the *Dictionary*. By the time the letter V was reached, this failure to verify certain titles had become so striking that a record of them was kept. In the letter V and the first part of W, seventeen articles were found on men from whose supposedly published works no title could be verified. Two of them had been included in Dr. Barnhart's fourteen.

To find out whether other fictitious sketches had been included, and, if so, something of their number and character, a study of all articles on subjects whose surnames begin with the letter H was made by the present writer. All articles in that letter were read, and those dealing with persons, except Indians, who were born before 1800 and had died by 1850, and who were connected with the history of Latin America, were selected for further study. The selected articles were compared with appropriate biographical, historical, and bibliographical works, in an attempt to verify or disprove as much of the information contained in them as possible. For this purpose, only works available in New York City were used. The use of manuscripts and other original sources was not attempted. However, inasmuch as the *Cyclopædia* was edited in New York, and those responsible for articles on Latin Americans are known to have worked in New York, presumably works available there were largely used in its compilation. The fact that all work on the *Cyclopædia* was done in a period of three years and, on the testimony of the managing editor,[3] under considerable pressure makes it unlikely that source material or foreign material was used to any great extent. As far as possible, works published before 1886 were used for this verification. When later works were used, the possibility of copying from the *Cyclopædia* was considered. Once the subject of an article was found in a recognizable form in a reliable source, no further consideration was given to that sketch. No attempt was made to check on the accuracy of genuine articles.

As a result of this study of the letter H, fifteen sketches were added to the list of those believed to be fictitious. Three additional sketches

[2] "The Wayward Encyclopedias", XII (May 2, 1936), pp. 71-74.

[3] Letter from Rossiter Johnson to Dr. Barnhart, Dec. 11, 1919.

found in other letters of the alphabet, in the course of this study, bring the number of fictitious articles to forty-seven. A list of these articles will be found at the end of this paper. They have been found in each of the last four of the six volumes. That the total number of such articles is much larger seems probable, when we remember that only two letters, H and V, have been systematically studied. In H, fifteen of these sketches were found in 267 pages, and in V, fifteen, in 88 pages. Whether they occur as frequently in other letters, it is, of course, impossible to say, until other letters have been studied.

The strongest evidence against these articles is bibliographical. Of the subjects of the eighteen articles studied by the writer, seven are credited with no published works. The remaining eleven are said to have published, among them, thirty-four titles in fifty-six volumes. All of these works are apparently important; a few went through more than one edition, or were translated into other languages. Some are described by such phrases as "a work which caused a sensation in scientific circles", "which is yet considered an authority", or "valuable to historians of Brazil". Yet no copy of any one of them is to be found in the printed catalogues of three of the great national libraries of the world, the British Museum, the Bibliothèque nationale, and the Library of Congress. This is the more remarkable because many of them were published in France, and copies should, by law, have been deposited in the Bibliothèque nationale, or its predecessors, for copyright purposes. No copies are recorded in the union catalogue in the Library of Congress, for which cards are supplied by most of the important libraries of the United States, nor in the printed catalogues of other important libraries. Neither can they be found in national or subject bibliographies, including important scientific bibliographies and bibliographies of Americana. The sensation caused by Oscar Hjorn's *Les Légumineuses Arborescentes de l'Amérique du Sud* must have been of very short duration if not a single copy is preserved in these libraries today nor recorded in scientific bibliographies. The absence of all these titles from one library, or of one title from all libraries, would have little significance. The absence of all of them from all bibliographical sources consulted is impressive and creates a strong presumption that they do not exist.

Perhaps the most patently fictitious article, on any grounds, is that on Charles Henry Huon de Penanster, who is said to have smuggled specimens of the cochineal insect and the nopal plant, on which it feeds, out of Mexico in 1755 and to have successfully introduced them into Santo

Domingo, thus breaking the Spanish monopoly of the cochineal dye industry. Probably few readers of the *Cyclopædia* would be aware that this feat was really accomplished in 1777 by Nicolas Joseph Thiery de Menonville, whose biography appears in its proper place in Volume VI. Had Huon de Penanster been as successful as we are led to believe, it would not have been necessary for Thiery to go to Mexico for the insects twenty-two years later. Moreover, any possibility that this exploit was repeated is dispelled by an examination of the titles of the works with which these two men are credited. Thiery wrote one book, *Traité de la Culture du Nopal, et de l'Éducation de la Cochenille dans les Colonies Françaises de l'Amérique, Précédé d'un Voyage à Guaxaca,* of which copies exist today. The writer of the fictitious article apparently considered this too many words to waste on one title. He credited Huon de Penanster with three books, *Traité de Culture du Nopal, De l'Éducation de la Cochenille et de Leur Acclimation à Saint Domingue,* and *Voyage à Guaraxa dans la Nouvelle Espagne,* thus making three titles grow where one grew before.

Here the source of inspiration for the fictitious sketch is obvious. In some other cases possible, though less striking, originals have been found. Perhaps each fictitious biography is founded on some historical personage or on a combination of several persons. For example, the work of Magnus Huss, who is said to have gone to South America as secretary to one of the members of a boundary commission under the treaty of San Ildefonso and to have published several books on the geography and natural history of that continent, strongly resembles that of Felix de Azara, who was a member of the same commission and published books with the same or similar titles. Bernhard Hühne, said to have explored the coast of California, bears a certain likeness to Sebastian Vizcaino, and the career of Antoine Horne, a Jesuit missionary to Brazil, may have been suggested by that of António de Vieira.

The writer (or writers) of these articles must have had some scientific training, for most of the creations are scientists, and sufficient linguistic knowledge to have invented or adapted titles in six languages. He was certainly familiar with the geography and history of Latin America. Most of the places visited by his characters are real places, and most of the historical events in which they participated are genuine. However, he sometimes made mistakes by which his fraudulent work can be detected.

One of these slips which arouse the suspicion of the reader occurs in

the sketch of Nicolas Henrion, a French scientist, who is said to have gone to South America to study the medicinal plants of Chile and Peru. He arrived in Callao in 1783, just as Asiatic cholera broke out there. He was at once appointed chief physician of the city, we are told, "and, by thoroughly disinfecting every building and pulling down unhealthy houses, succeeded in abating the disease". This epidemic of Asiatic cholera seems to be unknown to medical history. Epidemic Asiatic cholera reached South America for the first time in 1835, in a mild epidemic on the coast of Guiana.[4] It did not appear in Peru until 1868,[5] eighty-five years after Henrion is said to have encountered it in Callao. In this case other evidence, chiefly bibliographical, supports the conclusion that the article is fictitious. Possibly the episode of the cholera epidemic is based on the experience of Joseph de Jussieu, who went to Peru as a botanist in 1757 and was actually detained by the Peruvian authorities until the end of an epidemic of some sort, in which his medical services were needed.[6]

More striking is the inaccurate knowledge of the geography of the west coast of North America displayed in the article on Bernhard Hühne. According to the *Cyclopædia* this German explorer, sailing under the Spanish flag, "set to work to correct the chart made by Alarcon, and construct an exact one of the Gulf of California. He consumed two years in the work, and performed it so well that future navigators, using his charts, were able to go from Acapulco to Monterey in two months, when before, ten months was considered a quick passage".

This is a remarkable achievement for any chart, and particularly for this chart. It is difficult to see how any chart of the Gulf of California, however excellent, would be of the slightest use to a navigator sailing from Acapulco, on the west coast of Mexico, south of the southernmost point of Lower California, to Monterey in upper California, unless, of course, he followed the coastline clear around the Gulf of California. The suggestion that Spanish captains were accustomed to follow any such course is absurd. Moreover, it is not likely that it took ten months to go from Acapulco to Monterey before Hühne is supposed to have begun work on his chart in 1602. Cabrillo sailed from Navidad, about two degrees north of Monterey, on June 27, 1542,[7] and reached Baia de

[4] August Hirsch, *Handbook of Geographical and Historical Pathology*. Tr. from the 2d German ed. by Charles Creighton (London, 1883-1886), I, 401.

[5] *Ibid.*, I, 421.

[6] Michaud, *Biographie universelle ancienne et moderne*, 2d ed., XXI, 552.

[7] Henry Raup Wagner, *Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast of America in the Sixteenth Century* (San Francisco, 1929), p. 79.

los Piños, which has been identified with both Monterey Bay and Drake's Bay[8], on November 16.[9] And this was not a direct voyage but an exploring expedition. Earlier in the article on Hühne in the *Cyclopædia,* we read that Hühne's companion on his first voyage, which must have taken place in 1600, sailed from Acapulco to Cape Mendocino and back again between May and September. Whether the promontory known at that time as Cape Mendocino was the same as the one so called today, or not, it was almost certainly considerably north of Monterey Bay.[10]

The fictitious articles contain many errors in dates which can scarcely be explained as misprints. André Paul Herbette and Lorenz Wenceslas Kerckhove are said to have made the acquaintance of Alexander von Humboldt in the United States in 1802, when that scientist was in the Andes.[11] Miguel da Fonseca e Silva Herrera was presented with a gold medal by the historical institute of Rio de Janeiro in 1820 and bequeathed his collection of documents to the same society on his death in 1822, although the Instituto historico e geographico brasileiro of Rio de Janeiro was not founded until 1838.[12] André Herauld is said to have obtained the restitution in 1719 of his botanical collections, captured by the British, through the good offices of the "Royal Institute of London". The Royal Institution of Great Britain, which seems to be the organization meant, was not chartered until 1800.[13]

Sometimes real historical events are described, but comparison of the fictitious articles with other accounts of the same events shows that the subject of the sketch could not have played the part in them which is attributed to him. An example of this is to be found in the article on François Lauriot de Houdetot, said to have been a French adventurer who went to Martinique to serve under Duparquet. When the latter sailed against the rebel governor, Louvilliers de Poincy, we are told that he left Houdetot in command of Martinique. However, Jean Baptiste Du Tertre assures us that the Sieurs de la Pierrière and de la Forge were left in command on this occasion,[14] and his word seems to be accepted on this point by later historians. We are told also that during the Carib up-

[8] *Ibid.,* p. 78.

[9] *Ibid.,* p. 89.

[10] According to H. R. Wagner, *Sir Francis Drake's Voyage around the World* (San Francisco, 1926), pp. 490-491.

[11] Karl Bruhns, *Alexander von Humboldt* (Leipzig, 1872), I, 394.

[12] "Breve noticia sobre a creacão do Instituto historico e geographico brasileiro", in its *Revista trimensal de historia e geographia,* I (1839), 1-7.

[13] *Royal Institution of Great Britain, London: The charter* (London, 1891), p. 9.

[14] *Histoire générale des Antilles habitées par les François* (Paris, 1667-1671), I, 309.

rising of 1654 Houdetot, with a handful of soldiers, landed in Martinique and rescued Duparquet, who was besieged in his own house. Duparquet was, indeed, surrounded in his own house and badly in need of help. However, it was not Houdetot but the commanders of four Dutch ships who rescued him. As they sailed past Martinique, they saw smoke rising from the island, and, believing that something was wrong, they landed a force of three hundred men, who quickly put the Caribs to flight.[15] In the same way, all of the other important exploits with which Houdetot is credited, and the only ones which would justify his inclusion in a biographical dictionary, can be quite definitely ascribed to other men. Many similar examples could be cited.

In one instance it is more accurate to say that the article, rather than the man, is fictitious. "Huet de Navarre, French governor of Cayenne" may have been a real person, although he certainly did very little of what is credited to him. According to the article in the *Cyclopædia,* he went to Cayenne as lieutenant to Poncet de Bretigny with the expedition sent out by the Compagnie du Cap de Nord in 1640. After Bretigny "was murdered by soldiers", Huet de Navarre was elected in his place. "Under the wise administration of the new governor", we read, "the young colony prospered". However, many colonists returned to France because of the climate. When the new expedition under Royville, sent out by the Compagnie de la France équinoxiale, arrived in 1652, "Huet was elected president of the board of four members who represented the company". The French establishments prospered for several years but were finally abandoned in 1656. That there actually was a Monsieur de Navarre in command of Fort Cépérou, when the Royville expedition arrived at Cayenne, is attested by the fact that, according to Jean Laon, he was rewarded with a lieutenancy for surrendering the fort to the superior force of the newcomers.[16] He had been a first sergeant and had come out from France about six months before. However, comparison of this article with the history of Cayenne as set forth in the work of Laon already cited, of Antoine Biet,[17] and of Henri Ternaux-Compans[18] and other modern historians, shows that most of the previous and subsequent career of Huet de Navarre is either impossible or very unlikely. That he came to Cayenne with Bretigny is improbable. The two periods of

[15] Du Tertre, I, 465-469.

[16] *Rélation dv voyages des Francois fait av Cap de Nord en Amerique* (Paris, 1654), p. 79.

[17] *Voyage de la France equinoxiale en l'isle de Cayenne* (Paris, 1664).

[18] *Notice historique sur la Guyane française* (Paris, 1843).

prosperity which the colony is said to have enjoyed are entirely fictitious, and there are many other inaccuracies, the enumeration of which would occupy too much space. Huet de Navarre cannot be called fictitious because there was a Monsieur de Navarre, whether Huet de Navarre or not we do not know, who was in command of the fort at Cayenne for six months and presumably remained with the later colony. The article is called fictitious because, aside from this one fact, almost nothing in the article can be true.

How did these fictitious articles come to be included in a reputable and otherwise reliable work like *Appletons' Cyclopædia of American Biography?* Certainly, no one would believe that they were written and printed with the knowledge and consent of the publishers, the distinguished editors, James Grant Wilson and John Fiske, or the managing editor, Rossiter Johnson. Either they were copied in good faith from some earlier work or works, or they were written by some unscrupulous contributor or, less probably, contributors, and inserted without arousing the suspicion of the editors. The deviations from accepted fact seem too great and too numerous to be attributed to garbled notes or to the errors of copyist, printer, or proofreader.

If these fictitious articles were copied from some earlier work, it must have been something rather obscure since neither Dr. Barnhart nor the present writer has been able to find either the work itself or any evidence of the copying of information from it into anything else. The manner of editing the *Cyclopædia,* as described to the writer by two surviving contributors[19] and by two letters from Rossiter Johnson to Dr. Barnhart, would have made it possible and profitable for an unscrupulous contributor to write fictitious articles, using information he already had or was acquiring in the course of writing genuine articles.

Contributors were free to suggest for inclusion names that were not in the original book of subjects, and they not infrequently did so. Articles were not revised in the editorial office except for form, and, as is usual for such work, contributors were paid by space. A contributor's income, therefore, depended on the amount he could write in a given time. To write fictitious articles without even the minimum of research necessary for genuine articles, would have been decidedly profitable. Since articles were revised only for form, the chance that the fraud would be discovered would have been very small. The detection of fictitious articles

[19] Dr. Arthur E. Bostwick, Librarian of the St. Louis Public Library, and Dr. Frank Weitenkampf, Curator of Prints at the New York Public Library.

relating to Latin America would have been particularly unlikely because ignorance of that region was even more widespread in the United States in the nineteenth century than it is today, and facts within that field would have been left to the special contributors, selected because of their real or supposed knowledge of Latin America. If the practice followed by the *Dictionary of American Biography* of verifying every title cited in any article or bibliography had been anticipated by the Appleton staff, these articles would probably never have been written, or if they had been, the fraud would certainly have been detected.

The authorship of most of the articles in *Appletons' Cyclopædia of American Biography* cannot be determined from the work itself because they are all unsigned. The lists of contributors at the beginning of each volume give credit to each contributor for two or three articles, which, in many cases, represent only a small fraction of his work for that particular volume. Not one of the known fictitious articles is so credited specifically, although general credit for articles on Central and South America is given in four of the six volumes. The men to whom these articles are credited did not, however, write them all. Many were written by others and approved by one of them. It has not been possible to ascertain the present location or even the continued existence of the records of *Appletons' Cyclopædia of American Biography* or of the general publishing records of the house of Appleton, which would have been of inestimable value in this connection. Officers of the present D. Appleton-Century Company know nothing about them.

At first glance these articles may seem to be merely a literary curiosity and their identification a matter of little importance. Inasmuch as a reader goes to a biographical dictionary to look up the life of some one whose name he has already found in some other source, it may be argued that the fictitious articles can do no harm since no one will ever look for them. However, biographical dictionaries are used for other purposes. The subject index in this particular biographical dictionary makes it comparatively simple to compile from it a list of botanists, missionaries, persons connected with the history of Cuba, or any other class included in the work. Although such a list would not be complete because the index is not complete, fictitious names which appear in the index would, of course, be included.

Compilers of reference books often make use of the work of their predecessors. Dr. Barnhart discovered the fictitious botanists while he was compiling a bibliography of North American botany, for which he

used *Appletons' Cyclopædia of American Biography* as one source. We have seen that it was used as a source also by the staff of Sabin's *Dictionary of Books relating to America.* In these cases the fiction was not copied because each title was verified before it was accepted. Other borrowers, however, have been less critical. In a cursory search for evidence of the copying of information from these articles, such evidence was found in four bibliographies,[20] one biographical dictionary,[21] and one brief scientific article,[22] all published between 1909 and 1934. In the scientific article the *Cyclopædia is* cited as the source. In the other cases it could have been used, and there is some indication that it was used. Of course each time such an article is copied, the danger of further copying is increased.

It must, therefore, be concluded that *Appletons' Cyclopædia of American Biography* should be used with extreme caution as a source for other work. Articles on persons connected with Latin America must be regarded with suspicion until the information contained in them can be verified from other sources. Nothing in the foregoing pages, however, is intended as a reflection on the many authentic articles which the *Cyclopædia* contains. Used with proper caution, it is still, as it always has been, a valuable and authoritative work.

Goucher College. MARGARET CASTLE SCHINDLER.

A List of the Known Fictitious Articles[23]

Harmand, Louis Gustave
Henrion, Nicolas
Herauld, André
Herbette, André Paul
Hermstaedt, Nicholas Piet
Hernandez, Vicente
Herrera, Miguel da Fonseca e Silva
Hjorn, Oscar
Horne, Antoine
Houdetot, François Lauriot de
Huden, Lucas Van
Huet de Navarre
Hühne, Bernhard
Huon de Penanster, Charles Henry
Huss, Magnus
Igolino, Giuseppe*
Kehr, Gustav Herman*
Kerckhove, Lorenz Wenceslas*

[20] Frank Cundall, *Bibliography of the West Indies, excluding Jamaica* (Kingston, 1909); Carlos Manuel Trelles y Govin, *Biblioteca cientifica cubana* (Matanzas, 1918-1919); *id., Biblioteca geográfica cubana* (Matanzas, 1920); *id., Biblioteca historica cubana* (Matanzas, 1922-1926).

[21] Albert Montefiore Hyamson, *A Dictionary of Universal Biography of all Ages and of all Peoples* (London, 1916).

[22] S. W. Geiser, "That First Texas Botanist", *Field and Laboratory,* III (Nov., 1934), 11-12.

[23] One asterisk indicates an article listed as fictitious by Dr. Barnhart; a double asterisk, one so listed by the staff of Sabin's *Dictionary;* the other articles in this list were found to be fictitious in the course of this study.

Kjoeping, Oläus*
Klüber, Melchior
Koehler, Alexander Daniel*
Lotter, Frederic August*
Monteil, Nicolas Antoine
Mortier, Édouard Louis*
Nascher, Friedrich Wilhelm*
Neé, Isidore Charles Sigismond*
Ramée, Stanislas Henri de la*
Sylvie, Édouard*
Tapin, Richard
Thibaudin, Gaston Louis*
Verden, Karl von**
Verdugo, Vicente**
Verhuen, Jacobus**
Veuillot, Désiré**
Viana, Miguel Pereira**
Vicente y Bennazar, Andres**
Vigier, George**
Villadarias, Manoel Duarte Caldeiras Centenera de**
Villiers, Jean Pierre**
Vilmot, Charles Stanislas**
Vivier, Jacques du* **
Vogué, Jean Pierre**
Voisin, Charles Antoine**
Voisin, Pierre Joseph**
Voiture, Nicolas Auguste**
Wallerton, Charles Louis Auguste* **
Watteau, Boudoin Louis** [24]

[24] Since the foregoing article was written it has been reported that additional fictitious biographies in *Appletons' Cyclopædia* have been discovered by Dr. Barnhart and by Joseph Cantillon of Woodstock College. See *Letters*, vol. III, no. 19 (Sept. 14, 1936), pp. 1-2.

DOCUMENTS

The Financial Plight of a Queen's Consort

When Queen Victoria married her cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, in 1840, there was little precedent for the position of a queen's consort in British constitutional practice. There was no disposition to recall the marriage of Queen Mary with Philip II of Spain almost three centuries before. Then the issues raised were for the most part international and religious, now they were chiefly constitutional and financial. Any danger involved in a new German alliance had been more than offset by the separation of the thrones of Great Britain and Hanover on the accession of Victoria. The financial position, however, had been aggravated by the loss of the Hanoverian revenues to the British crown, coupled with the necessity of continuing to pay out of the British consolidated fund the annuity settled upon the Duke of Cumberland before he had become king of Hanover. This was bad enough, but it lacked the poignancy of the loss to the British exchequer of fifty thousand pounds each year that had to be paid to Leopold, prince of Coburg of Saalfeld, because a former parliament had in a fit of absent-minded generosity, on the occasion of this prince's marriage to Princess Charlotte in 1816, granted to him this amount in case he should outlive the princess. Charlotte, being the only legitimate child of the Prince of Wales (later prince regent and King George IV), was in the direct line of succession to the throne, and it was confidently expected that she would soon be queen. Within a year, however, she had died in childbirth. Leopold withstood all suggestions that he should return any part of his annuity, even after he became king of the Belgians. It was to Leopold and Charlotte rather than to Philip and Mary that British minds turned in their search for precedents, and it made them at once sad and cautious.

The documents printed below are reproduced from manuscripts in the Russell Papers in the British Public Record Office. Prince Albert's memoranda are in his own hand. The prime minister's reply is a copy. They record Prince Albert's attempt to have parliament reconsider the original settlements it had made on the queen and on himself, both of which were considerably less than any previous settlement on a royal

family. This attempt might now have little but personal interest were it not set against its historical background of financial depression, industrial and social revolution, and the rising tide of political radicalism. The documents themselves make it clear that neither the royal family nor their prime minister was oblivious to this deeper significance.

W. Menzies Whitelaw.

London.

I Prince Albert to Lord John Russell

Memorandum.

The death of the Queen Dowager & the consequent release of her large Annuity has always been looked upon by the Queen & myself as the proper moment for the reconsideration by the Gov[t] & Parliament of her financial position & the amount of my Annuity.—

I receive only 3/5 of the Annuity which *every Consort of the Sovereign* without exception has enjoyed before me, from which besides is deducted 3 p.ct. Income Tax. Therefore instead of £50,000, I receive only about £29,000.

In looking to the Debate on my Grant I find that the Party Combination by which it was so much reduced tried to justify it's act on the following grounds:

1.). That there was a material difference between the expenses of a Queen Consort & the Queen's Consort, that the former had a state & Establishment to support which the latter did not.

2.). That the Queen's Civil List was so revised that from reduction of Salaries £10,000 more would become generally available than were so under the former Act of William IV.

3.). That I had no claim to a larger income than the other members of the Royal Family because I came into a House where everything was already provided for me.

4.). The fear that too large a Sum of money entrusted to a young man might lead him into mischief & thereby the Queen & through her the Country into difficulties.

5.). That the Queen might die without Children & I be left a permanent heavy burden upon the Country, possibly spending my income abroad.

6.). The distress in the Country & the necessity of raising new Taxes with the already existing deficiencies in the Revenue.—

To this it can be replied.

1.). It is true that the Court & Establishment of a Queen Consort is larger than that which has been thought sufficient for the Queen's Consort. However it must not be overlooked, that whilst the Queen Consort has Ladies & equipages to convey these Ladies, &c &c (which was specially insisted upon in the Debate) a Queen's Consort has other expenses arising from his difference of sex which, although not enumerated as state expenses, counterbalance the above mentioned, such as: a Hunting Establishment, a Pack of Hounds, a breeding Stud, Shooting establishment, a Moor or Forest in the Highlands of Scotland, a Farm &c &c &c all of which belong to the ordinary

establishment & pursuits of an English Gentleman, [&] are as important to him as the Ladies & Carriages are to the Queen Consort. Whilst they are conducive to the health in body & mind both of myself & my Children, some of them are elements of amusement & hospitality to the Court & its visitors generally, others are not without *national* importance.— It appears that the reduction of the grant to £30,000 was based particularly upon Lord John Russell's statement, that he believed that the Prince's establishment would cost about £7000 a year, but without giving any data upon which he formed this estimate.— Now the fact is: that my establishment, reduced as it has been to a level commensurate with the reduced grant, has never cost me less than £14,000 a year exclusive of any of those out of door pursuits which I have before enumerated, & I consider that establishment barely sufficient for the duties it has to perform.— But further the calls which are made upon a lady (as the Queen Consort) by the Public are only of two kinds: Religion & Charity. These two paramount duties are equally binding upon the Consort of the Queen, but upon him are very fairly made in addition the claims of Literature, Science, Art & Industry, which ought to find a protector & Patron in the Husband of the Sovereign, the more so as the Sovereign, being a Lady, cannot give the same attention to them which a King could, whilst the fostering Patronage of the throne is almost a necessity to the 3 first at least. The Services of the Country (the Army & Navy) naturally likewise look more to the Queen's Consort who belongs to their own body, than to the wife of a King. Each of these duties in their execution require besides their peculiar claims occasional journeys to different parts of the Country with all their accompanying expenses, from which a Queen Consort is entirely exempt.—

It is true that in spite of all this I have for these 10 years managed not to exceed my income & am at this time free from Debt. But I have been able to accomplish this only by the very closest attention, & while I have often without reluctance refused myself the indulgence of many allowable tastes or fancies I have felt *very painfully* that I was crippled in my means of usefulness to the Country & the Throne & had often to see opportunities, nay what I must have considered duties, to do what would have been highly beneficial & advantageous to this Country & to let them pass in silence from want of power adequate to the emergency.— If I look at the affection & veneration shown to the late Queen Adelaide on account of her charity & benevolence I see therein an important element of the strength & stability of the Throne from its being founded on the love & gratitude of the People, & must consider it doubly impolitic that *my* means sh[d] be so circumscribed in comparison to what had been allowed to her.— It must not either be forgotten, that upon the sudden cessation of that extensive & ready assistance the whole flood of unsatisfied wants & pressing demands will be turned into the Channel of application to the Queen & myself, where already there is an accumulation of unassisted misery to which it is daily painful from want of means to be obliged to decline succour, & that whilst formerly there was a numerous Royal Family, justly celebrated for it's readiness in the support of public Charities & institutions in the comon course of nature I shall soon stand *quite alone* to meet the demands which formerly so many were privileged to supply.

2.). The second objection: of the Queen being able by the reduction of Salaries to save £10,000 a year upon her Civil List, does not affect my case

so long as these £10,000 are not paid to my use; but I should at all times be sorry to be made dependent upon the Queen in money matters also, when, from our peculiar relative position I must be so in all others.

3.). The fact of my finding a House & establishment all ready for me, is a curious argument to follow that of the saving, which the Queen has been enabled, under the Civil List Act to make, as the maintenance of myself & my establishment must cause expense, which, if not borne by me, must fall upon the Queen, thereby consuming this supposed surplus.—

4.). The fear, that a very large income suddenly put into the hands of a young man of 20 might cause him to go astray, & thereby inflict injury on the Queen & the Country, though not very complimentary as a prophesy, & the absence of the larger sum by no means giving a security against such a misfortune, still may have been not altogether unnatural on the part of the House of Commons, who could for[m] no opinion on my probable personal character. But I hope that the experience of the ten years I have spent in this country will have convinced the public, that there will be no danger in entrusting me with the same income which all former Consorts of the Sovereign have possessed.—

5.). The consideration that the Queen might die without children, & I be left for years a heavy burden upon the Country, possibly spending my income abroad, had most likely most to do with the vote which the House came to & was strengthened by the singular analogy between my marriage & that of Prince Leopold to Princess Charlotte. But the case is now completely altered: I am the father of the Royal Family & of the future probable Sovereign, & by the Regency Bill even entrusted with the Gov[t] of the Country during his minority.—

6.). The momentary distress & exhausted Revenue of 1840 is happily not the condition of 1850 & it is hoped that the Chancellor of the Exchequer will not be obliged to propose any new taxes, with which the grant to me could be connected in the public mind. On the contrary the return of Queen Adelaide's annuity will still leave a large surplus to the Country under the head of "Royal Allowances," & I hope the Country would not object to see done by me what may be fairly represented to it as mere justice.—

Whilst my allowance is not much more than half of that of the Consort of the Queen's Predecessor, the Queen's income is considerably less also than that of either George IV or William IV.— George IV had only one child (a Daughter) for whose education & support Parliam[t] made an allowance of £30,000.— William IV had no children. The Queen has 6 Children & will soon have a 7th. She has had to educate & maintain them hitherto without any assistance from Parliament whilst the birth of the Prince of Wales has deprived her of £30,000 a year, the Revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall which were enjoyed by both her predecessors. She has inherited from her Uncles a Pension List even now amounting to more than £20,000 a year formed almost entirely of personal claims upon these Sovereigns, has paid her father's Debts (to the amount of £60,000) & has subjected her whole Civil List to the Income Tax, returning to the Exchequer between 10, & £12,000 per annum. The Duchy of Lancaster, although valued at £18,000 a year has averaged only between 6 & £10,000.—

It is clear from this that the Queen also is considerably worse off than

any of her Predecessors, whilst the claims which her Family cause are new & large.—

The education of the Royal Family is an important national object so long as this Country remains a Monarchy, & the Queen ought to be enabled by Parliament to carry it out in a liberal spirit.—

It will be easy for any body to form a rough estimate of what four Princesses with their Toilette, female Attendance &c &c what Masters, Tutors & Governesses & Horses & Carriages &c &c for a numerous Royal Family will cost. We consider that £30,000, the sum which was allowed for the education of one Princess (Pss. Charlotte) & which is equal to that by which the Queen's income is less than William IV's since the birth of the Prince of Wales will be adequate for present & future emergencies. A less sum would soon be found insufficient & render fresh application to Parliament necessary, which on every account is as much as possible to be deprecated.—

Should thus £50,000 a year be added to the Allowance to the Crown for the Royal Family, there would still remain a saving of £50,000 of that given by the Country before Queen Adelaide's death. But it will be but fair to consider how since our Marriage the whole balance between the Country & the Royal Family stands, for it would not be reasonable to suppose, that when the elder branches of the Royal Family die, the Country is to make large savings thereby, & that when members are added, it is not bound to provide for them.—

Since the beginning of 1840 the following Annuities fell in

Princess Elizabeth	—	£13,000
Princess Augusta	—	13,000
Duke of Sussex	—	21,000
Pss. Sophia of Gloucester	—	7,000
Princess Sophia	—	13,000
Queen Adelaide	—	100,000
		£167,000

deduct from this the proposed £50,000 for me & the education & maintenance of the Children, the Country will still save £117,000 a year—

Windsor Castle
December 30, 1849.—

ALBERT

II LORD JOHN RUSSELL TO PRINCE ALBERT

Woburn Abbey Jan. 5 1850

Lord John Russell presents his humble duty to Y^r M^y, & after seriously consider^g the subject to w^ch Y.M. commanded him to turn his attention, is painfully compelled by a sense of regard for the interests of Y.M., no less than of the Country at large, to adopt the conclusions contained in the accompanying memorandum.

It is observed that in 1840 many friends of the Gov^t staid away; but that is the course w^ch is usually taken by those who do not like to vote against a Gov^t they support.

Lord John Russell will consult Sir George Grey & Sir Charles Wood when they are in London together, but he feels it right to take upon himself the responsibility of his own deliberate advice to Yr Majesty.

Mem.

In making any proposal to Parlt on behalf of the Crown there are always two questions to be considered.

1. Is the proposal reasonable in itself?
2. Is it likely to be well received by the Hse of Commons & the country. In regard to the first of these questions, the proposal of grantg an annuity of £50,000 a year to Prince Albert seemed very reasonable, & that opinion I have not changed. A King or a Prince Consort must always have certain expenses wch require a considerable & separate outlay besides those expenses wch belong to a Queen Regnant or a Queen Consort.

Parliament however was aware of these circumstances, & the proposed Establishment of the Prince was stated from Ld Melbourne's memorandum at the time. This establishment however only included the Groom of the Stole & other officers of a similar nature. The personal establishment of the Prince cd not be estimated without actual experience. The increase of the Civil List by £30,000 in consideration of the expenses of education & nurture is a totally different question. Upon this subject it cannot fail to be remarked

1. That the Parlt wch settled the Civil List upon a Queen of 18 years old must have expected that she wd marry, & that a numerous Royal family wd have to be maintained & educated.
2. That although the Income Tax has been imposed, the value of money as compared to commodities has much increased since 1837 by the repeal of the Corn Laws & of many duties on articles of food, clothing, & furniture.
3. That the Civil List wch was found equal to the expenses of the reception of the Emperor of Russia & King of Prussia, has since that time produced a surplus in the departments of Lord Steward & Lord Chamberlain.
4. That the large outlay at Osborne wch it is understood has been regularly paid for is drawg to a close, & implies a future exceeding wch may be applied to the maintenance & education of the Royal children.
5. That the example of the grant of £30,000 a year for the Princess Charlotte does not hold good, inasmuch as the Princess Charlotte was heiress to the Crown. The Prince of Wales has his own income as Duke of Cornwall, & therefore does not require a supplementary grant.

If passing from the first question it is now considered, what will be the effect of such a proposition in Parlt & in the country, more serious objections arise. The present state of loyal feeling to the Throne ought not to be shaken for any but the strongest necessity. Lord John Russell thought it his duty to express to the Queen on gog out of office in 1841 his conviction that application for grants of money to the Royal Family were peculiarly obnoxious to the people of England. The Queen's example & conduct have endeared her to her subjects, & it seems paradoxical to say that such loyalty cd be disturbed by a proposal for a grant of £50,000 a year. Yet such is the impression wch debates on such subjects have produced. Nor is it a light matter to give cause for a junction of adverse parties against a proposal for additional means of expenditure for the Royal Family. At present Free Traders & Protectionists fight their battle far from the Throne, it wd be dangerous to unite them under its steps, & give them a common cause to contend for.

The present temper of the H. of Commons & the country is adverse to such a proposition. In 1845 profusion was popular; in 1850 economy will be pushed to its utmost limits.

Lastly the immunity w^ch^ the Royal Family of this country have enjoyed from those storms w^ch^ drove the King of the French from his seat, & endangered the Thrones of Austria & Prussia counsel a prudent abstinence from topics w^ch^ may be handled by demagogues with powerful effect. The whole expense of the Civil List may be opened to view, canvassed, misrepresented, & brought before the misguided sufferers who are now complain^g^ of agricultural ruin & sudden poverty. Upon the whole therefore it seems very unadvisable to bring forward any proposal for increased grants to the Queen or the Prince during the approaching session.

III Prince Albert to Lord John Russell

Memorandum.

Lord John Russell says in his Memorandum of the 5th inst. "that in any proposal to Parliament on behalf of the Crown there are always two questions to be considered:

1.). Is the proposal reasonable in itself?

2.). Is it likely to be well received by the House of Commons & the Country."

We are pleased to find, that Lord John has here expressed completely the principle as well as the Method according to which the Queen will treat all matters concerning the Crown, & according to which she wishes to see them treated by her Ministers.

As Lord John Russell goes on to say with regard to the question of the Prince's Annuity:

"that a grant of £50,000 a year to P. Albert always seemed to him very reasonable & that he has not changed that opinion" — the question as to the *reasonableness* of this demand at least (as pending between Ld. John & the Queen) is entirely disposed of & there remains only to be considered the justice of a proposal for a Grant in aid of the Education of the Royal Children.-

Let us investigate Ld: John's remarks upon *this* question in the same order in which he makes them.

1.). "That the Parliament which settled the Civil List upon a Queen of 18 years old must have expected that she would marry & that a numerous Royal Family would have to be maintained & Educated."

It *ought* to have expected & provided for these contingencies, but there is no evidence of it's having done so to be found in the fact of its not providing an Income for the Husband & granting to the Queen the same Civil List, which had been granted to two preceding Monarchs neither of whom could have been expected to have any children & who would keep the Revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall in addition.—

2.). "That although the Income tax has been imposed the value of Money as compared to comodities has much increased since 1837 by the Repeal of the Corn Laws & of many duties on articles of food clothing & furniture."—

This is true, but only to a certain extent, & therefore affords only a partial compensation to the Queen; but the position between the Queen & the Country is not in the least affected by it, as the fact remains the same, that from the Original grant of the Civil List £12,000 a year are paid back to the

Country, & that this sum even more than absorbs that surplus of £10,000 a year, the supposed existence of which served to Mr. Goulburn, Sir R. Peel & others in 1840 as a ground to refuse a larger grant to me.
3.). "That the Civil List which was found equal to expenses of Reception of the Emperor of Russia & the King of Prussia has since that time produced a surplus in the Departments of the Ld:Steward & Ld:Chamberlain." &
4.). "That the large outlay at Osborne, which it is understood has been regularly paid for, is drawing to a close & implies exceedings which may be employed to the maintenance & Education of the Royal Children."

To this it must be answered that part of this surplus on the Household Departments is *ficticious,* merely enabling the Queen to see, how much she will have to spend before she incurs heavier outlays on account of those Departments, which according to the old practice was impossible, when the expenditure went to the extreme margin of the Allowance before the accounts of the quarter or year were closed, so that there was continued danger of running into debt, when a sudden outlay became necessary. The Reform in this respect, which gives a security against embarrassments to the Treasury & the House of Commons, ought not to [be] *turned against* the Queen.— The other part of this surplus which has hitherto gone towards defraying the expenses of Osborne has arisen from two causes: 1.). in the Lord Chamberlain's department the shutting up the Pavillion at Brighton now for 4 years by which the expense of that establishment was saved; & 2.). the Queen for some years living in the small old House at Osborne which of course was at a very reduced current expenditure in the Ld:Steward's Departm[t] Now however the new buildings in Buckingham Palace are finished & will require nearly as much expenditure in both these Departments as the Pavillion which has been sold, & Osborne has got to a size bringing the expense of living there nearer to what it is in other Palaces. The Children are likewise growing up producing a daily increase of establishment & consumption in every Household department.— The Queen having thus by her own economies & from having turned to account a temporary relief from expenditure furnished herself with a House near the Sea, ought not to be quoted *against* her as proof of a permanent superfluity of Income, but ought rather to be gratefully recognized by the Country which might have been expected to *provide* & I am sure would not have wished to see the Sovereign of England *without* a Marine Residence.— The impossibility of providing for the education of the Royal Children out of the surplus in the Ld:Chamberlain's Department will moreover become evident, when it is remembered that this same surplus was adduced by Ld. John Russell & the Chancellor of the Exchequer only last year as a reason for deviating in the case of Buckingham Palace from the invariable rule of applying to Parliament for a grant to furnish new Palaces before [being] delivered over to the Sovereign.
5.). "That the example of the grant of £30,000 a year for the Princess Charlotte does not hold good in as much as the Princess Charlotte was Heiress to the Crown. The P. of Wales has his own Income & therefore does not require a supplementary grant."

Princess Charlotte never was Heiress Apparent, her Grandfather being alive & her Father was in possession of the Duchy of Cornwall in addition to his other grants. Our younger Children are not further removed from the throne than Princess Charlotte was, only a Prince of Wales intervening

in both cases; with the difference that their Parents have not the Revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall to use for their Education nor a grant & have therefore £60,000 a year less to apply to that purpose.

I hope that the *reasonableness* of the Demand will upon all these considerations be fully admitted by Lord John Russell.

I come now to the second question: how such demands are likely to be received by the House of Commons & the Country?—

Lord John Russell stated no new axiom in 1841 when he said to the Queen: "that grants to the Royal Family were particularly obnoxious to the People." However as they require a Royal Family they will have to provide for them & a Minister ought not to shun the opportunities to set the Country right upon this matter.— The Country takes from the Sovereign his hereditary Revenues & gives him no means to acquire a private fortune; till very recently he could make no will, & even now anything he may leave to his Successor is merged in the Crown Property. The Sovereign with his & his Family's wants is a *Permanency* & if fear of the dislike to pay for them causes Ministers to recede from established positions, they only create new Precedents against the Royal Family which increase the difficulties in future cases, as has been exemplified in this instance even by former acts of consideration on the part of the Queen towards that feeling.— If it should be now established that even justly earned loyalty & attachment is to be forfeited the moment a Sovereign requires merely that his just wants should be supplied, this would strike a heavy blow at Constitutional Monarchy, in which that loyalty to the Sovereign is a necessary requisite for its own safty [*sic*] & the wants necessary for its existence cannot be supplied in any other way according to the present arrangement than by grants from Parliament.—

However Lord John Russell may rest assured, that the important consideration of the proper moment for such a demand, which he has so strongly pointed out in his Memorandum will not weigh less with the Queen & myself, than with him, our stake in the matter being even larger than his. The Object of us all being the same we cannot fail to agree upon the fitness of the time when it presents itself. Ld:John may know of difficulties arising from political combinations of which we are not aware. But when the Session shall have advanced a little & we shall have had more opportunities of personal communication we shall be able to see our way. In the mean time it may perhaps be as well for Lord John *not* to mention the subject even to any of his Colleagues.—

Windsor Castle
January 9, 1850.—

ALBERT

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL HISTORY

Environment and Nation: Geographical Factors in the Cultural and Political History of Europe. By GRIFFITH TAYLOR, Professor of Geography, The University of Toronto. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1936. Pp. 571. $4.00.)

THIS volume is a sequel to the author's *Environment and Race,* published in 1927. "In that book the effect of Environment on the world-wide groups of Man known as Races was studied. In the present work a smaller unit, 'the Nation,' is discussed in the same fashion."

Professor Taylor aligns himself with such writers as Friedrich Ratzel, Ellen C. Semple, and Ellsworth Huntington. In emphasizing the importance of "environmental control" over the affairs of men he goes considerably further than most geographers of today would probably be willing to follow. He accepts a good many of Professor Huntington's hypotheses regarding the influences of climate on history and civilization and outdoes Huntington in his facility of generalization on the basis of statistical and graphic techniques. Some of the latter are extremely clever, and it is in this respect that the book is most unusual. The attempt is made to clarify broad relationships by means of a remarkable collection of maps and diagrams drawn by the author himself. Block diagrams and "three-dimensional graphs" are employed to demonstrate not only the physiography and geological structure of Europe and its different regions but also facts of history, race, and culture. There are "time-space diagrams" showing quantitatively the chief incidents in European history, "isopleth maps" illustrating the spread of Christianity, universities, architectural styles, etc. Professor Taylor states that "it is a truism in scientific research that if a mass of information can be reduced to a graph not only will the data be more clearly presented and the relative importance of various sections of the study be stressed, but a number of new ideas almost invariably develop". It is equally true that the new ideas should be handled with care. They may develop out of an oversimplification of the facts when reduced to graphic form, and it must be admitted that Professor Taylor's ingenuity occasionally gets the better of his sense of critical restraint.

Take, for example, the theory of "national indexes", set forth at the end of the book as a sort of climax. Europe is divided into seventy-four regions, for each of which a "national index" has been determined and plotted on a map. The index is found by counting the approximate number of centuries

(out of 10) from 900 A. D. to 1918 "in which the region experienced some form of 'home rule.'" The index for most of France and Germany is 10; that for England is 9—not 10, because England in the twelfth century did not enjoy "home rule", being subject to the Normans. The index for most of Poland is 8, whereas that for Granada is only 5 because it was dominated until the end of the fifteenth century by the Moors. Southern Italy, the Balkan Peninsula, western Russia, and Finland have very low indexes. Having mapped his indexes, the author goes on to construct frequency graphs in which high national indexes are shown to be associated with Protestantism and high "health indexes", low national indexes with the Greek Orthodox faith and low "health indexes", etc. "It may well be . . . that the mental independence which predisposed a people to *protest* against orthodox views also determined their resistance to foreign aggression." All this would seem to imply that the "national indexes" are interpreted as indicating something of the degree of vitality of national life and spirit. To the present reviewer the method seems somewhat like gauging a man's health and vigor at the age of fifty not upon his actual condition at the time but upon the number of decades during his life in which he enjoyed good health.

By no means all of Professor Taylor's book, however, consists of speculations of this hazardous type. Useful and important material has been gathered from secondary historical and geographical sources and conveniently combined together, and much of the book makes interesting reading because of the freshness and unconventionality of the author's point of view. He has, however, tried to cover such an immense field that some of the physiographic expositions are overcondensed and will not be altogether clear to a reader who has no physiographic background; and some of the historical summaries are too skeletal.

To statements such as the following exception may be taken for one reason or another: "faulting—which is the geologist's term for an earthquake" (p. 45); "the other tongue [of the extended Rhone glacier in the Ice Age] climbed some way up the Jura Barrier" (p. 297); "the growth of a great city naturally depends much more closely on environment than does the development of a Nation" (p. 220); "the strategy of the two famous battles of Tannenburg (in 1410 and 1914) depended entirely on the topography of these glacial lakes" (p. 261); "in medieval times the rulers of Germany and Italy were so busy trying to link those two very different environments to form the Holy Roman Empire that neither region could flourish" (p. 323); "the region immediately to the east [of Great Poland] which is called Galicia" (p. 409); "Volhynia, the High-Plain between Lwow and Lublin" (p. 410); Athens "was well protected on the landward side, while the long graben of the Gulf of Corinth helped to protect it on the west" (p. 458). In the spelling of place names in Eastern and Southeastern Europe there is some inaccuracy and a good deal of inconsistency (especially between the maps and

the text), and throughout the entire volume the reviewer noticed but one accent, umlaut, or diacritical mark of any sort, although these are necessary to the correct spelling of many names. Individually none of these things matters much, but their cumulative effect is unfortunate.

American Geographical Society. JOHN K. WRIGHT.

An Historical Geography of England before A. D. 1800: Fourteen Studies. Edited by H. C. DARBY, Lecturer in Geography, King's College, Cambridge. (New York: Macmillan Company; Cambridge: University Press. 1936. Pp. xii, 566. $7.00.)

THERE is a field of research lying between the usual limits of history and geography, yet partaking of both, which has been arousing more and more attention of late years. This book is a valuable example of such work. Of the eleven authors who contribute to it no less than ten are professional geographers in English universities. The fourteen chapters are arranged in historical order, but they naturally do not attempt to cover every section of England's history. The point of view of most of the chapters is social and economic, since the military and political aspects have usually been stressed in earlier books.

In chapter I the writer, E. G. Bowen, discusses prehistoric Britain and includes a striking map showing the concentration (after 100 B. C.) of the Belgic tribes to the southeast of the Exeter-Ely line, which runs near the Cretaceous Scarp. They were the bitter opponents of the Roman conquest, and their chief town was Colchester. As regards the early trade in metals, the export of gold and copper from Ireland was more significant before 500 B. C. After that date the Cornish tin trade, via the Loire and Marseilles, was more important. The displacement of Goidelic tribes by Brythonic tribes in Britain —a vexed question of great interest—is not raised in this chapter.

The Roman section is contributed by E. W. Gilbert. He draws attention to possible changes in climate, there being little doubt that the country was boggier and damper in those days. It is stated that one tenth of the whole army of the empire was stationed in Britain. As regards London we learn that the level of the land has sunk fifteen feet since Roman times, and that the town probably contained more brick and stone buildings then than it did at the time of the Great Fire in 1666. Excellent maps of Roman mines, roads, and kilns are discussed in the later pages of this chapter.

The editor of the book, H. C. Darby, bases much of chapter V on the data in Domesday Book. First he discusses the area placed under forest by the "Hunter-Kings", showing in a map that perhaps a third of England was in that condition in 1250. But clearings were being made, notably by the Cistercian and Benedictine abbeys. Indeed the common place names in *-thwaite* indicate such clearings in the past. The Statute of Merton in 1235 defined how much "waste" the lord of the manor could withdraw from the common

land of the peasant. A valuable section deals with the village plan. The Saxons of the Midlands adopted the open-field system, but the Jutes and East Angles dwelt in hamlets. On the western border the Celtic people still clustered in groups of three or four houses. The chapter concludes with sections on population density, towns, and trade.

"Fourteenth Century England" by R. Pelham is illustrated by a particularly fine series of distribution maps, showing how the geographer can help the historian. Thus one map of the Weald shows that the grain trade depends on the geological structure, while another gives the similar relation for sheep. A map of England shows the distribution of monasteries in relation to the uplands. The wheat counties of Leicester and East Anglia supported the greatest population, and the cloth industry was concentrated in three areas, around Bristol, Colchester, and York. These centers are correlated with the supplies of water, which were needed for power and for fulling. Four maps at the end deal with the trade routes and commodities of the southeast of England.

Professor E. G. Taylor's chapter on Leland's England is largely a commentary on the well-known "Itinerary" of 1535-1543. She stresses the very small stir made in England by the early voyages to America. An excellent map shows the character of the roads about 1571, and there are many sidelights thrown on the landscape and trade of England about that period. The chapter on Camden's England deals with the period 1570-1600. In 1589 Proctor discovered a way to smelt ores with pit coal, but it was not till 1709 that this fuel replaced charcoal to any degree. Largely because there are no charts given in this section it is difficult to gather the outstanding trends of this period of England's evolution.

From this brief discussion it will be gathered that the pattern of the book consists of a series of geographical pictures at intervals of about one hundred years. The reviewer would have liked to see the point of view of Dr. Wooldridge (in chapter III) elaborated in the other chapters. He shows that the geographer brings another technique to the help of the archaeologist and the historian. The influence exerted by Build upon British history might have received more emphasis throughout. The Older-mass (Wales, Cornwall, etc.) has always been conservative, largely owing to its rugged structure. The Younger-mass (center and east) is, for geological reasons, better suited for farms and handicrafts and has been the progressive portion of the kingdom. For instance, in prehistoric times the megalithic culture occupied the Older-mass, while the later beaker folk controlled the Younger-mass. In Roman times their first frontier was a geological unit, the Jurassic Scarp. Later the Scottish *Graben* (*i.e.*, a down-faulted block) determined the line of their forts. So, right through the centuries, we see the social groups changing their position according to Build and geology (see the reviewer's recent ***Environment and Nation***). Bare uplands suit primitive peoples, who dread the dense

forests of the vales. These latter in turn furnish the areas of close settlement in medieval times. The eastern strata of the Older-mass with their coal have mainly determined the groupings of today.

The reviewer can cordially recommend this volume for inclusion in all teaching libraries interested in history, geography, sociology, or economics. He hopes to see it used as a textbook in classes studying the fascinating borderlands of all these disciplines.

University of Toronto. GRIFFITH TAYLOR.

Progress and Power. By CARL L. BECKER, John Stambaugh Professor of History, Cornell University. [Three Lectures delivered at Stanford University, April, 1935.] (Stanford University: University Press. 1936. Pp. x, 102. $1.50.)

THERE are no new "facts" in these three lectures. Their reading produces, rather, the experience one gains from contact with an epic poem. Many of us have learned, whatever our immediate fields of interest, to approach Professor Becker's output in a mood of grateful expectation of the catharsis it yields. Particularly those of us who are preoccupied with the events of a single period or immersed in urgent current problems find in his writing a wisdom we fumble to attain in our own immediate work.

He deals here with the emergence and subsequent dilemmas of *homo sapiens,* "emerged without credentials or instructions from a universe that is as unaware of him as of itself and as indifferent to his fate as to its own". He traces the efforts of man to counteract his insecurity by means of material and intellectual tools, on the one hand, and, on the other, a wavering succession of comforting world views. These world views have alternately sought to shrink the imperfect present back toward the perfect past of a Golden Age, then forward toward the Heavenly City; and, latterly, with his growing power over nature, man has given over the long look in either direction and sought to derive security from preoccupation with the matter-of-fact, day-by-day flow of man-made Progress in an era of rapid social change. Of men in Western Europe at the beginning of what he calls the "Fourth Period" (the last thousand years) Becker says:

> It seems at first unlikely that they will accomplish great things, since they appear to have forgotten much that was formerly known. . . . They know too little of ancient Greece and Rome to feel the loss of that vanished grandeur, nor does it distress them to recall the initial ideal state of man in the Garden of Eden, since they are well assured of felicity and perfection in the future Heaven reserved for believers in the one true God. Thus their very limitations, of which they are unaware, enable the Europeans, more than others, to escape pessimism, the sense of man's futility, nostalgia for the Golden Age. . . . Armed with confidence born of ignorance and with arrogance engendered by dogmatic faith, they are well prepared to make the best of two worlds, alternately fighting with each other for material advantage and uniting against the Infidels for the promotion of truth and righteousness.

Of man as he stands today, plowing under his wealth in a feverish effort to control a confused world full of potentional splendors, he says:

> Never before have men made relatively greater progress in the rational control of physical force, or relatively less in the rational control of social relations. The fundamental reason for this discrepancy is clear: it is that the forces of Nature have been discovered and applied by a few exceptional individuals, whereas every effort to ameliorate human relations has been frustrated by the fact that society cannot be transformed without the compliance of the untutored masses.

He assumes at least five hundred more years' duration for the present. "Fourth", period. "What is chiefly required" for the extension of man's matter-of-fact grasp of human relations "is time." He sees the probable slowing down of material change as an ally on the side of time.

All of which is not a novel line of thought. The thing that *is* new is the Carl Becker of it. The present reviewer thinks of Becker, Walton Hamilton, and R. H. Tawney as men who somehow manage to impart the same glowing perspective to their thought. We people who sweat with the training of "scholars" and "social scientists" might well ask ourselves—and our students, if we are candid: What are the ingredients of the quality these three men appear to have in common? Scholarship? A literary style? Wisdom? Can we rest content with tossing off the answer that it is an inscrutable combination of factors or with blaming our students that so few of them achieve this fluid wisdom? As a confirmed believer in our current academic devotion to "data", the reviewer lays down Professor Becker's little volume, nevertheless, wondering whether we academic folk, with our stubby-nosed Philistine view of our "sources", "footnotes", and "data", and our complaisant acceptance of academic survival of the fittest, may not be contributing thereby to what Professor Becker terms "the profound discord between the sophisticated and the unsophisticated levels of apprehension".

Columbia University. ROBERT S. LYND.

Economic History of Europe. By HERBERT HEATON, Professor of Economic History, University of Minnesota. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1936. Pp. xiv, 775. $3.50.)

PROFESSOR Heaton undertook a heavy task when he set out to write this book. He attempted to synthesize, primarily but not exclusively for students, all the knowledge concerning European economic history that has been accumulating for almost a century, ever since economic history became the subject of separate study. He has accomplished this task with conspicuous success.

Apart from three brief chapters on economic conditions in earlier civilizations, the whole book is concerned with the civilization of Europe from about 1000 A. D. down to the latest developments growing out of the depression of

1929-1934 and the rise of dictatorships in Russia, Italy, and Germany. The reader will find copious information on a great many phases of economic development in every European country, especially since the Napoleonic wars. He will find Mr. Heaton a reliable guide on almost all subjects which he discusses. His standard of accuracy is very high for work of this kind, and he is careful to warn his readers that, as most aspects of economic development still await thorough investigation, final statements, even on matters of fact, are not always possible. He has brought to his labors all his wide learning, based on many years of research and teaching, and has shown remarkable agility in keeping abreast of the latest work that has appeared, both in recent books and in English and American learned journals. Numerous maps and charts, some of them the author's own, are of much help to the reader in following the argument. The bibliographies at the end of the chapters will be useful to scholars as well as to teachers and students.

Those who are familiar with Mr. Heaton's method of presentation will not be surprised to find him writing with a zest and a flavor sadly lacking in most text books. To him economic history is never simply a matter of statistics; he does not forget that its concern is with human beings. He quotes from a medieval cookery book to give us an idea of how and what medieval people ate (pp. 155-156). In order to reveal the abuses of the recent combination movement, he concludes one of his best chapters, on competition, combination, and control during recent years, with a spirited description of the career of the notorious Ivar Kruegar.

Professor Heaton's book is full of passages likely to attract and hold the student's attention. Perhaps the best part is the second half, dealing with the last two hundred years and giving vivid descriptions of the changes in the technique of production and transportation which have made markets world-wide and have enabled people to move "at speeds that would have seemed astronomical rather than terrestrial two centuries ago" (p. 408). The story of these centuries loses nothing in dramatic power from Mr. Heaton's recognition that machinery, large-scale industrial enterprise, and the use of credit were common in many regions before the time of the so-called "industrial revolution".

Economic history treats important subjects which have not been receiving in America as much attention as they deserve. This has sometimes been attributed to a lack of good textbooks. If one holds the textbook method of teaching partly responsible for the meager knowledge and intelligence shown by so many students after a college education, one is reluctant to admit this. But when one finds colleges and even universities where European economic history is taught by graduate students, some of whom have never studied the subject, one realizes how fortunate we are to have a first-rate authority willing to devote his valuable time to writing an economic history of Europe. If the book obtains a wide circulation in our schools and colleges, it should help

to arouse interest in economic history and to correct many popular errors about various phases of economic development, such as banking, mechanical invention, and the factory system.

While Mr. Heaton's work supplies a definite need in connection with the present college curriculum, the best interests of creative scholarship will hardly be served if the writing of textbooks becomes a habit in economic history, as it has become in most other departments of academic study. Like many of the subjects now taught in colleges and universities, economic history, as it is usually presented, lacks unity. Treatises on the subject almost always suffer from the want of a guiding principle to bind together the various chapters and sections into something approaching an inevitable sequence. The only apparent criterion used by Professor Heaton in selecting data is that they shall be related to "the way man has worked to satisfy his material wants, in an environment provided by nature but capable of improvement, in an organization made up of his relations with his fellows, and in a political unit whose head enjoys far-reaching power to aid, control and appropriate" (p. 6).

Many economic historians will regard this as a satisfactory definition of "economic history". But as a guiding principle in writing a book, it seems both too broad and too narrow. It is too broad because the amount of data available on the way in which Europeans have worked to satisfy their material wants is almost limitless. If a scholar had ten lives, instead of only a part of one, to give to writing an economic history of Europe, he could not possibly "cover" the ground. The definition is too narrow because economic history is of general interest only when it is concerned not simply with historical facts but with their meaning. In attempting to discover their meaning, we may be led to explore subjects which fall outside this definition, for, as Mr. Heaton himself suggests, there is no aspect of history altogether unrelated to economic development.

If economic historians content themselves with the search for further information about the satisfaction of material wants in past ages, the study of economic history is likely to become, like so many special "fields" in the so-called social sciences, another fact-finding discipline. But if they try to determine what aspects of economic development have significance for the history of civilization and to discover the nature of the relationships between economic and other phases of historical development, they may do something to reunite the far too numerous subdivisions of history and to restore to historical study the dignity which attaches to the search for wisdom. The writing of further textbooks is more likely to promote the former than the latter objective. Insofar as it diverts the attention of able scholars from research, it will promote neither objective.

The University of Chicago. JOHN U. NEF.

Political and Diplomatic History of Russia. By GEORGE VERNADSKY. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 1936. Pp. ix, 499. $4.00.)

THE aim of this book is "to give to the student of Russian history a reliable account of the most important developments in Russian policies from the earliest period up to the present" and "to emphasise a certain fundamental unity of the Russian historical process which makes the present-day Russian policies only the continuation of age-long developments".

The main divisions of Russian history stand out well marked in the book, and the material is so arranged as to bring into prominence the factors which contributed to the expansion of national territory and the consolidation of Russian power. The cursory treatment of important events and developments (the Congress of Vienna is dismissed in eight lines, and about the same number of lines is given to the whole subject of Russian-American relations) suggests that the book was intended for the general reader and the beginner; but again and again one finds such abundance of details as would tax the memory and power of comprehension of the professional historian and the specialist. Thus, in depicting the princely anarchy which prevailed during the early period of Russian history, Mr. Vernadsky allots over a hundred pages to the enumeration of several hundred sovereign princes, their relatives, both near and distant, and lists more than a hundred civil wars and invasions by various tribes. The story is told in such detail that it leaves the reader in complete confusion. No less confusing is the overelaboration of material in the sections dealing with the Ukraine. While the book provides much useful information on the developments in that region, it is doubtful whether the reader will grasp the significant elements in so extended a treatment of the Ukrainian issue, especially as the author himself appears to be somewhat confused on that question. He argues at some length in favor of a separate Ukrainian nationality and yet tells us (pp. 330-334) that throughout the centuries the Ukrainians, like the Great Russians, looked upon themselves primarily as Russians and that even the Ukrainians in Galicia considered themselves to be Russians.

While conscientious and thorough in the compilation of facts, the book displays a naïveté and superficiality when it comes to analyzing the facts, with the result that some of Mr. Vernadsky's statements are more sweeping than penetrating. Thus he maintains that during the World War the attention of Russian headquarters was for some time diverted from the main task of the army by the contemplated expedition to the Bosphorus and Constantinople (p. 400). A reading of Prince Kudashev's reports from the Stavka to the ministry of foreign affairs (published in the *Krasnyi Arkhiv*) will hardly support such an interpretation. Mr. Vernadsky also claims that Order No. I issued by the Soviet during the early days of the March Revolution was passed "in order to undermine the authority of the army command" (p. 404). While the order did have such an effect it is hardly warrantable to make the

results of an act a part of its motivation. Nor can it be said that Mr. Vernadsky's device of interpreting past events in terms of present-day occurrences is particularly illuminating. The conflict between Ivan the Terrible and some of his boyars is said to have been similar to Stalin's recent campaign against the kulaks and aimed at the liquidation of the boyars as a class; the *poteshnye* of Peter the Great, mere playmates of the young czevich, are alleged to have played a role analogous to that of contemporary communist youth; and the Bolshevik Cheka is supposed to have had a number of predecessors in institutions of the past. Apparently this is the method by which Mr. Vernadsky hopes to prove the "fundamental unity of the Russian historical process which makes the present-day Russian policies only a continuation of age-long developments". It is hardly necessary to point out that analogical reasoning, even when the analogies are pertinent, is not a safe guide to historical generalization.

A concise and lucid style is almost essential in a work of this nature. Unfortunately Mr. Vernadsky's writing is often slipshod and sometimes even ungrammatical. The structure of sentences is often clumsy, and there are disagreements in number between subject and verb.

One's regard for the book is weakened still further by the presence of a number of inaccuracies, small in themselves, but irritating in the aggregate. There is space for only three or four illustrations. The Military Revolutionary Committee was organized not during the Kornilov rebellion but six weeks later, on October 25, 1917 (p. 411); the Bolsheviks did have a majority at the Second Congress of Soviets and the Left Wing Social Revolutionaries did not formally support them at that Congress (p. 412); it is not true that by February 19, 1918, "all large estates had been divided among the peasants" or that "small individual farms . . . had been confiscated by village communities" (p. 414); Trotsky's order to disarm the Czechoslovaks was not issued under German pressure but came as a climax of the strained relations between the Czechs and the Bolsheviks; the uprising at Yaroslavl was not organized by the Right Wing Social Revolutionaries but by a different organization having no relation to them. Such mistakes might pass in a work of literary pretension, but an inaccurate textbook is well-nigh useless. The book should never have been allowed, by either the author or the publisher, to go to press in its present form.

The Johns Hopkins University. JAMES BUNYAN.

On the Rim of the Abyss. By JAMES T. SHOTWELL, Professor of History, Columbia University, Director, Division of Economics and History, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1936. Pp. xiv, 400. $3.00.)

M. Paul-Boncour in addressing the Disarmament Conference "pictured the nations as in an abyss shaped in concentric circles which, from the outer

rim of greatest security, constantly narrow as they deepen toward the center of the gulf where those reside who are most threatened by war and have suffered most from it". How to keep the nations of the world from being thrown from these concentric shelves into the maelstrom of war and destruction is the general theme of this penetrating analysis. More specifically the author studies what the policy of the United States should be, situated as it is on the outer, but still dangerous, rim of this threatening inferno.

Professor Shotwell finds the answer in collective security, but in a collective security which recognizes that nations cannot be expected to undertake uniform world-wide obligations to stop aggression wherever it may arise. Willingness to co-operate on general lines there must be, but it will always be necessary for the more interested nations to take the lead. Therefore regional security pacts are necessary as a means of implementing a general security policy. This is clearly the lesson to be drawn from the Manchurian, Chaco, and Ethiopian episodes, each of which is succinctly discussed. Since events have demonstrated that the obligations assumed by nations in the interest of peace will vary, Professor Shotwell can justifiably point to the wisdom of his proposal made in 1919 that a form of associate League membership be instituted for those states which could not or would not accept all the obligations of the covenant. Fundamentally, this is the solution he still proposes. It has been amply demonstrated that the United States and the League must work together if the Pact of Paris or League security is to mean anything. Indeed the single mutual obligation to uphold the Pact of Paris might well be a basis on which United States membership in the League could be founded. In any case pacific policies would be greatly furthered if the League should provide for a nonmember to sit with the Council whenever such a nation is directly interested or affected by a threatened conflict. Such co-operation would have been extremely desirable in the Manchurian crisis, for example. Further, the United States should agree—subject to Congressional direction—to co-operate with a policy of sanctions when applied by the League. This, of course, would mean severing trade only with the aggressor, that nation which had resorted to arms in total disregard of the entire machinery of peace. Professor Shotwell makes a telling case against the theory of the isolationists that complete embargo against both belligerents would be the most effective way of preserving peace for the United States.

The study does not profess to be a history of the peace movement of recent years but rather a commentary on that history. The book is consequently somewhat episodical. The great accomplishments of the League are stressed, but its failures—notably to provide any means of revising treaties—are not omitted. It is a measured and sane plea for a new order, never losing sight of the difficulties and realities of the situation which must be overcome.

Bowdoin College. E. C. HELMREICH.

Key Economic Areas in Chinese History as revealed in the Development of Public Works for Water-Control. By CH'AO-TING CHI. (London: George Allen and Unwin; New York: American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations. 1936. Pp. xxiii, 168. $2.50.)

"By using the concept of a Key Economic area", the author states on page 2, "it is possible to analyse the function of the economic base as providing the fulcrum for the political control of subordinate economic areas in China" and it "thus becomes possible to study an important aspect of Chinese economic history, to approach it from the viewpoint of political power with reference to regional relations, and to formulate it in terms of the development of agricultural productivity by irrigation and flood-control and the evolution of a system of artificial waterways, primarily for the transportation of grain-tribute to the seat of government". In order to show how these key economic areas shifted in China, the author has collected all the references in the provincial gazetteers dealing with what is called *shui-li,* "water benefits", and in a very clear statistical table the results of this investigation are presented (p. 36). The figures show that during the Han dynasty (206 B. C.-221 A. D.) such references are numerous for the provinces of Shensi and Honan, where the former and later Han dynasties had their respective capitals, and that gradually the Yang-tzŭ valley comes into the picture, reaching an overwhelming number of references during the Sung dynasty (960-1280), which, from 1127 on, had its capital south of the Yang-tzŭ. This preponderance continues under the Ming (1368-1644) and Ch'ing (1644-1912) dynasties, equaled only by large figures for the province of Chihli (Hopei), where the capital, Peking, was situated. The task of transporting the necessary grain north was fulfilled by the Grand Canal.

A large amount of important and detailed material as to the nature and meaning of various irrigation and conservation measures and their relation to political developments is discussed. Embracing a period of two thousand years, the treatment is necessarily somewhat sketchy but nevertheless substantial. The author shows himself well informed and uses sound judgment. There is a good discussion of the much debated problem of the *ching* or "well" system. I am, however, somewhat surprised to see that, in accordance with the traditional views of certain Chinese scholars, he connects the mention by Confucius of "ditches and furrows", *kou hsüeh* (the reference, which is not given by the author, is to *Analects* VIII, 21), with the "well" system; also that he claims that "well land was officially pronounced dead" in 350 B. C. (p. 78 n.). I myself am doubtful whether Shang Yang's measure of that year had in reality anything to do with the "well" system, of which I have not found any evidence in Ch'in (*cf.* my *The Book of Lord Shang,* 1928, pp. 18, 44 ff.). There is a gross misstatement on page 130, where it is said that the Northern Sung "still ruled the whole of China (960-1127)" and in the footnote (*ibid.*) that "Liao (907-1125) and Kin (1115-1260) ruled the

northern provinces while Southern Sung (1127-1280) was established in the South". A mere comparison of the dates would have reminded the author that the barbarian Liao dynasty was practically contemporaneous with the Northern Sung and that it occupied a large part of North China.

As an explanation of the fact that the economic base of the ruling group in China gradually shifted from the central provinces of Shensi and Honan to the Yang-tzŭ valley, the author is inclined to reject the idea of desiccation in the former region. He ascribes the shift to the development of the more fertile basin of the Yang-tzŭ and the neglect of irrigation in the comparatively unproductive province of Shensi (pp. 29-30). It would seem that such factors as deforestation and the relative density and racial constitution of the population, as well as the political forces, particularly the pressure of the northern barbarians, should also be considered before a satisfactory solution of this problem can be given. The author has left these aside, concentrating on the facts relative to irrigation problems; in any case it is obvious that, once the Yang-tzŭ valley was developed, its milder climate and its abundance of water supply, which made it less dependent on the rainfall, gave it a great advantage over the northern provinces.

The author modestly says (p. xv) that the present volume is only a beginning and announces further studies along the same lines. They will be received with considerable interest.

The book has a good bibliography, some Chinese maps, and an index.

Columbia University. J. J. L. Duyvendak.

ANCIENT HISTORY

Histoire grecque. Tome III, *La Grèce au IV^e siècle: La lutte pour l'hégémonie, 404-336.* Par Gustave Glotz, membre de l'Institut, professeur à la Sorbonne. Avec la collaboration de Robert Cohen, professeur au Lycée Henri IV. [Histoire générale, sous la direction de Gustave Glotz, Histoire ancienne, deuxième partie.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1936. Pp. 538. 60 fr.)

The original plan of this volume was to give the history of events from the fall of Athens in 404 to the death of Alexander the Great. But Glotz died before he was able to complete his book, which has now come out under the supervision of one of his pupils, Robert Cohen. The latter, wishing the volume to be more nearly uniform in size with the first two volumes of this series on Greek history, modified the original plan by omitting the epoch of Alexander, which is to be included in Volume IV. With the exception of chapter xv, dealing with the artistic life of the epoch, Glotz had entirely finished the work, so that Cohen limited himself to some minor modifications and changes, and another French scholar, Ch. Picard, a well-known

authority on ancient history, revised, corrected, and even, one may say, rewrote this chapter.

Glotz was a first-class scholar, especially in the field of social-economic problems in the history of ancient Greece. He gives not only an excellent survey of political events but also a plastic picture of social-economic conditions and intellectual life in the fourth century. It should also be pointed out that throughout the book the author accompanies his text with references to the primary sources and principal literary works, thus giving us an exact idea of our information on particular subjects and of the standing of various questions in the light of up-to-date knowledge. His collaborator is the author of *Greece and the Hellenization of the Ancient World* (1934), and he also is to be counted on for dependable work.

The volume under consideration deals with hegemonies. There is the crude narrow-minded hegemony of Sparta after the Peloponnesian War; there is the Persian hegemony over Greece after the peace of Antalcidas in 387, when the Greek deputies arrived in Sardis in order to learn from the Persian satrap the conditions of the peace which "the King of Kings deigned to grant" the Greeks (p. 98); then there is the attempt of Athens to restore her hegemony by means of the second Athenian confederation, after 378. In the western basin of the Mediterranean there is Dionysius I, the so-called tyrant of Syracuse, who succeeded in unifying for the first time the Hellenic cities of Sicily under his power and forming an empire extending to the greater part of *Magna Graecia,* stretching westward towards Massalia and eastward to the eastern shores of the Adriatic. Then follows the short-lived Theban hegemony, 371-362, and finally the Macedonian hegemony established by Philip after the battle of Chaeronea. As the author says: "Between the fall of Athens and the end of the Greek city on the field of battle of Chaeronea, barely sixty-six years elapsed; but in this time the destiny of Hellas was sealed" (p. 503).

In 404 Athens seemed mortally wounded both in policy and institutions; she could not unify Greece, and her democratic institutions seemed crushed in her final collapse. Other cities also failed to unify Greece, so that finally the dismembered country lay an easy prey to any military invader with a strong and well-organized army. In fact, the unification of Greece came from outside—unification by force—and Greece became a dependency of Macedon. But, as the author remarks: "History knows no abrupt breaks (*coupures brutales*). Chaeronea is not a conclusion; it is merely an important date. The Greek city-state is dead, but the Greek spirit lives for ever" (p. 506).

An excellent book, duly crowning the fruitful scholarly life of a great historian.

The University of Wisconsin. A. Vasiliev.

Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: United States of America, University of California. By H. R. W. Smith. Fascicule I. [Union académique internationale.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1936. Pp. 60. Plates LXII. $5.00.)

This is without question one of the best fascicules of the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* which has as yet appeared. The excellent illustrations combine the two chief requisites—they are of adequate size with many views of details, and they have been made after the vases were freed as far as possible of restorations. The text is what we might expect from a scholar of the caliber of H. R. W. Smith. It combines painstaking accuracy with wide knowledge and imagination. Students will find here all they may wish to know about the vases of the California collection, that is, detailed descriptions of shape, decoration, technique, and inscriptions, as well as many interesting and suggestive comments. For instance, the mysterious cross-shaped instrument which appears often in schoolroom and other scenes is tentatively interpreted (pp. 41-43), on G. H. Goody's theory, as "the detached head of a torch of the well-exampled 'fiery cross' type". "The complete torch", however, on the Bourguignon cup (*Journal of Hellenic Studies,* XLI, 126, fig. 6) is, I think, better explained as a toy; and we should remember that Athenian schools were opened after dawn and closed before sunset (*cf.* Aischines, *Against Timarchos,* 10). The three chief varieties of the apicate fillet are carefully analyzed (p. 45); and the amusing surmise is made (p. 25) that meaningless inscriptions were intended "to teaze the Etruscan and the tipsy". Several of the Athenian black-figured and red-figured vases are assigned to known artists, some by J. D. Beazley (Lewis Painter, Hasellmann Painter, Brygos Painter, Painter of the Berlin Perseus), others by the author (Kerberos Painter, Makron, Clinic Painter, Boot Painter, Edinburgh Painter, Painter of London 777), whereby the artistic interest of the collection is enhanced. In these attributions Mr. Smith shows the rare ability to differentiate closely approximating styles.

There is only one omission that many will note with regret—that of any assignment of dates to individual examples. Though such assignments are necessarily provisional, there is no doubt that they are extremely useful as working hypotheses.

Artistically the high spots of the collection are an Attic geometric jug over two feet high (pl. II), a skyphos (pls. XL, XLI) by the Lewis Painter (who has lately been identified as Polygnotos II), and a late fifth century Attic hydria with a remarkable rendering of Semele after the birth of Dionysos (pls. XLVII-L). We may mention also as specially interesting pieces a Chalcidian amphora, several little-master cups, a Cabeiric cup, and the attributed vases mentioned above. Rarities reproduced are a good example of the kalathos shape (pl. LII), an early jug in the form of a sphinx (pl. LVII),

and a curious "cooler" with human heads on neck and foot (pl. LVIII), perhaps Boeotian.

To have so noteworthy a collection published in exemplary fashion is a matter for sincere congratulation.

Metropolitan Museum of Art. GISELA M. A. RICHTER.

Histoire romaine. Tome II*, *Des Gracques à Sulla.* Par GUSTAVE BLOCH, professeur honoraire à la Sorbonne, et JÉRÔME CARCOPINO, membre de l'Institut, professeur à la Sorbonne. Tome II**, *César.* Par JÉRÔME CARCOPINO. [Histoire générale, publiée sous la direction de Gustave Glotz, Histoire ancienne, Troisième partie.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1935; 1936. Pp. 488; 489-1059. 45 fr.; 60 fr.)

THE volumes under review are the work of M. Carcopino alone. At the time of M. Bloch's death, in 1923, he had completed only a portion of the introductory section, and even that has been revised and supplemented by his successor. The selection of M. Carcopino was a happy one. Respected for his preliminary studies, *Autour des Gracques* (1928), *Sylla* (1931), and *Points de vue* (1934), the author has brought to this larger task a spirited style, true scholarship, and a delightful temerity in his presentation of new interpretations.

Unity in the volumes is achieved by a subordination of economic and cultural to political development. One wishes for more of the illuminating references to contemporary letters. They could well be substituted for the comparisons of the past with the present. The analogies pointed out are enlivening but tend to confuse rather than to clarify. The sympathies and antipathies of the author are rarely withheld.

An elaborate introduction of 147 pages presents the background of the century of revolution. The rise of the senate to its position of dominance in the Roman state is sketched as a campaign for control of state income. The selfish and unpatriotic abuse of authority is attributed to the temptations of a more urbane culture and to the "disease of empire". It led directly to widespread social and economic changes for the worse. The spread of moral decadence from Rome into Italy, the provinces, and the army is described in the conclusion of this general indictment. The introduction is an epilogue to the extant work of Livy, a sermon on the famous Livian text, *ad haec tempora, quibus nec vitia nostra nec remedia pati possumus, perventum est.*

In the second section, the reader's judgment is challenged again and again by striking sentences and novel hypotheses. The closing date, 82 B. C., is in itself a surprise. The law of Flaminius, the first authentic *lex agraria,* was not merely a law but a revolution. It was a *coup d'état* rendered abortive by the Hannibalic War (p. 159). "Ainsi le De Agricultura [of Cato] nous propose moins un modèle qu'un type: le type de l'exploitation sénatoriale, au milieu du II^e^ siècle" (p. 162). Scipio Aemilianus departed for Numantia

without the usual quota of troops because there were none available in Italy, not because troops were denied him by a jealous senate (p. 176). The event which turned Tiberius Gracchus to a reform program was the ruin of his military career through his connection with the *foedus Numantinum* (pp. 184-185). The importance of Flaccus as the equal partner of Gaius Gracchus is emphasized (*e.g.*, "ces Dioscures de l'histoire républicaine", pp. 249-250). Gaius Gracchus increased the individual allotments from thirty to two hundred *iugera* (p. 242). The *senatus consultum ultimum*, "cette caricature du droit", destroyed "les seuls républicaines qui pouvaient encore sauver la République" (p. 265). The results of the wars of the allies are thus summarized: "par la manière dont il a nécessité, conduit, terminé la guerre sociale, le Sénat a préparé contre lui-même la guerre civile qui la suivre presque sans transition, et à laquelle il avait, sans le savoir, fourni les prétextes, les effectifs, et, dans la personne de Sulla, le chef qui en fera sortir la monarchie" (p. 388). Credence is given to the report of Plutarch and Appian that Marius and Sulla agreed upon a division of power before the latter's departure to the East (p. 395).

To the third section of his work, entitled "Le pouvoir personnel" (pp. 2-44), M. Carcopino devotes more than one half of his pages. The pessimistic tone of Livy is abandoned with the appearance of Julius Caesar, who is regarded as the wise physician, the savior of the Roman state. In fact the entire period is presented as a biography of Caesar. Sulla is the precursor, the real founder of a real empire, not the champion of the senatorial aristocracy which he quite definitely remade and subordinated to himself (p. 458). The impression is given that the imposing structure of Sullan reforms is minutely described by the author with the still more imposing edifice of Caesar constantly in mind. There is a distinct subordination of other careers to that of Caesar. Thus Crassus is little more than a tool, Pompey a foil, and Cicero an incompetent opponent or, later, a useful servant of the great Julius.

In his estimate of Caesar's life and work the author wisely avoids the extremes of Mommsen and Ferrero. An important thesis, however, may be challenged. This represents Caesar as a lover of Rome and of Italy, a champion of the West against the East (pp. 962-1009). Caesar, however, was willing to practice polygamy (p. 995). He had acquired before the Ides of March the non-Roman title of *divus* as well as a dictatorship both perpetual and hereditary (pp. 998-1002). The eastern annexations of Pompey, it is true, had been offset by the acquisition of the Three Gauls (p. 817), but the proposed campaign against the Parthians, if successful, would have destroyed this precarious balance. The ultimate triumph of the East, however, was not to be measured in square miles. It was a triumph of ideas, and the most sincere, the most ardent advocate of Hellenistic ideas in Rome was Julius Caesar.

University of California. J. J. Van Nostrand.

Herod: A Biography. By JACOB S. MINKIN. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1936. Pp. 277. $2.50.)

THE author of this biography seeks to present Herod in a new light. "For the first time", he declares, "a lance is lifted in his defense". A much stronger defense, however, was made by Vickers in 1885, and the traditional estimate has been revised by many scholars. One would expect a fresh examination of the primary sources; but Dr. Minkin thought it best to avoid "the encumbrance of notes and references" and furnishes only a bibliography. The foundation on which a life of Herod must be built is quite precarious. His own memoirs are lost, and so are the original works of his friend and biographer, Nicholas of Damascus. We have some paragraphs in Strabo's Geography, fragments of Nicholas in Constantine Porphyrogenitus, allusions in the "Assumption of Moses", a brief chapter in Philo's "Legation to Caius", and little else—except Josephus. This historian seems to have had some acquaintance with Strabo's History but apparently knew Nicholas only through excerpts in earlier writers. The monographs on the sources of Josephus by Bloch, Destinon, and Hölscher should have been mentioned. Vickers, Wellhausen, Otto, and Willrich have dealt most critically with Herod. Dr. Minkin lists Wellhausen's *Prolegomena,* which has nothing to do with Herod, but not his *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte,* which contains what Otto regards as the best sketch of Herod ever written. Willrich has placed the king most clearly in his historic setting.

In describing the crimes laid to Herod's charge the author follows Josephus with too much confidence. Critics have pointed out that Aristobulus is quite likely to have been drowned accidentally in the swimming match that followed the banquet. That Mariamne was interned in 34 B. C. as well as in 30 B. C. has been questioned by Renan and other historians who assume a juxtaposition of two accounts of the same event. What Mariamne's relations with Sohaemus may have been we have no means of knowing. Both Herod and Nicholas believed in her guilt. The Jewish law demanded her life if she was proved guilty, and an ordeal if she was only suspected. Josephus only reports a rumor that the king was implicated in the death of his brother Pheroras. Much pressure must have been brought to bear on him to hand over his eldest son, Antipater, to a Roman tribunal. Forged letters, forced confessions, torture, and blood purges were often resorted to for laying bare conspiracies and punishing subversive activities in the Hellenistic world. Dr. Minkin is, no doubt, right in regarding the massacre of the infants in Bethlehem as unhistorical, but not on the ground that Jesus was born four years after Herod's death, which is highly improbable.

A story so full of dramatic interest has naturally lent itself to poetic treatment. Aside from the liturgies, mysteries, and later plays, featuring Herod and the infanticide, there are numerous modern dramas dealing with Herod and Mariamne. The searching analyses of these by Landau, Grack, and Tomlinson might well have been recommended to students. If none of them

has achieved real greatness, the reason is obvious. As Tomlinson suggests, it is impossible to unite in one character the jealousy of Othello, the rascality of Richard III, and the ambition of Macbeth. The biographer is under greater obligation than the dramatist to sift and weigh the documentary material and to refrain from overstatement for rhetorical effect. But when he attempts to set forth in its true light a historic figure, he is also creating a character that should be plausible, and he must grapple with the psychological problems which his more critical treatment presents. Dr. Minkin deserves credit for his freedom from long-entrenched prejudices, his effort to strike a balance of good and bad qualities in Herod, and the vivid and colorful style of his narrative.

Cornell University. NATHANIEL SCHMIDT.

The Cambridge Ancient History. Edited by S. A. COOK, F. E. ADCOCK, M. P. CHARLESWORTH. Volume XI, *The Imperial Peace, A. D. 70-192.* (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1936. Pp. xxvii, 997. $10.50.)

THE title of this volume indicates both its scope and the point of view from which the editors have interpreted the history of the period from the accession of Vespasian to the death of Commodus. It is the civilization which flourished under the aegis of the principate and which constitutes the chief historical justification of the Roman Empire that is emphasized above political and military history. This comes out clearly in the topical division of the chapters. Six of these suffice for the narrative history of the Flavians, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and the Antonines. Two others deal with the neighbors of Rome—the peoples of northern Europe, the Getae, the Dacians, the Sarmathians, and the Parthians—stressing their cultural and economic achievements. Two chapters are devoted to an analysis of the system of imperial and local government; five others to a survey of the civilization of the different regional divisions within the empire; and the remaining five to special topics—Christianity, Greek literature, philosophy and science, Latin literature, social life in Rome and Italy, imperial art, and classical Roman law. This arrangement of the subject matter afforded the editors the opportunity of making use of a large number of specialists, so that the present volume is a co-operative enterprise to a much greater extent than its predecessor. There are in all twenty-one contributors of whom twelve are British and eight Continental European, while America is represented by Professor Rostovtzeff, who has written the interesting chapter on the Sarmathians and Parthians. In spite of the large number of contributors, it is rare to find any important disagreement between the writers who have had occasion to treat the same topics in different chapters, such as, for example, in the divergent estimates of the strategic importance of the Wetteran region on pages 165 and 529.

The Flavian restoration is very ably treated by M. P. Charlesworth, while

R. P. Longden, one of the new English collaborators, has given an unusually fine discussion of Nerva and Trajan. The chapters on Hadrian and the Antonines are the work of the outstanding student of Hadrian's career, Wilhelm Weber, who brings out the real significance of the rule of Commodus as embodying the new forces at work within the empire that were destined to overthrow the Roman conception of the principate. Dr. Streeter's chapter on the rise of Christianity is somewhat awkwardly placed between the accounts of the principates of Trajan and Hadrian. It pays the minimum of attention to the relations of Christians to the public authorities but discusses with great learning the sources for our knowledge of the early church and the growth of Christian doctrine to the appearance of an orthodox faith. Neither here nor elsewhere is there any reference to the persecution of the Christian community at Lugdunum in the time of Marcus Aurelius.

With the exception of the section on Egypt, the fortunes of which during the Julio-Claudian era are fully treated in Volume X, the chapters devoted to the provincial cultures follow in general a uniform plan and deal with the whole period from Augustus to the third century. They discuss ethnic and geographic conditions, provincial organization, municipalization, trade and communications, religious survivals and developments, and the extent of Romanization or Hellenization, thus giving a picture of the great diversity as well as the external uniformity that prevailed throughout the empire as a whole. All of these chapters are scholarly and exhibit the results of the latest discoveries and researches, but perhaps the ablest presentation is to be found in chapter xv, "The Frontier Provinces of the East", by Franz Cumont.

In view of the fact that the discussion of Greek literature, philosophy, and science is carried so far as to include Galen, it is somewhat of a surprise to find that the treatment of Latin literature concludes with Suetonius, omitting all consideration of Apuleius and Fronto, although the latter's criticism of Lucan is cited, and considerable attention is paid elsewhere to his association with Marcus Aurelius. In the very sanely written chapter on "Social Life in Rome and Italy" the words "patrician order" (p. 747) are surely a slip for "senatorial order". It was a happy idea to entrust the interpretation of the art and architecture of the empire to Professor Rodenwaldt, whose exposition is both lucid and thorough, doing justice to provincial as well as Roman accomplishments. Professor Buckland treats the development of the classical Roman law from Augustus to Ulpian but excludes the local systems which persisted along with the Roman in various provinces. He rejects the views that the jurists were men of "high philosophical culture" and that the Digest contains a "coherent body of doctrine" held by the jurists as a group, as well as the opposing doctrine that it presents an essentially Oriental system, aligning himself with those who maintain that Justinian sought only too successfully to retain the classical law, which experienced an internal evolution and constantly resisted Orientalizing influences.

Perhaps the most significant chapters in the whole volume are x, "The Principate and the Administration", and xi, "Rome and the Empire", both by Professor Last, which are ably supplemented by Professor Adcock's "Conclusion" (pp. 845-853). Here we find a sympathetic and understanding exposition of the character of the principate and the nature of Roman imperialism. Last points out that although the constitutional formulation of the powers of the princeps remained practically the same for the first three centuries of the empire, the character of the government varied, for the prestige which Augustus won for his office enabled his successors to interpret their position as they wished. The loyalty of the inhabitants of the empire, born of a conviction that their interests demanded its survival, was the basis of its strength. This was undermined by the failure to maintain a balance between local initiative and bureaucratic control. Important factors in weakening the imperial fabric were external dangers, ravages of plague, and overspending. The idea of class conflict is rejected.

There is an appendix on sources, three short notes, and the customary full bibliographies and index. The maps, although sufficient in number, are too deficient in place names to satisfy the demands of the text and give no indication of the imperial roads so frequently referred to. But the general excellence of the volume makes one impatiently await its successor, which will conclude the series.

The University of Michigan. A. E. R. Boak.

The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Preliminary Report of Sixth Season of Work, October, 1932-March, 1933. Edited by M. I. Rostovtzeff, A. R. Bellinger, C. Hopkins, and C. B. Welles. [Conducted by Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1936. Pp. xx, 518. Plates LIII. $7.50.)

This admirable report is so bulky and contains so much important matter that no brief review can do it justice. Among the private houses, which are described in detail with discussion of their history, several were adapted for use as barracks for the Roman garrison or living quarters for noncommissioned officers. One of these was twice altered, the second time in the last years of Dura's existence. To this period belongs a fragment of a painting of Aphrodite and plaster ceiling blocks adorned with various designs, among which are heads of divinities and portrait heads. In another house were interesting paintings representing banquets and hunting scenes, some features of which are Oriental while others foreshadow Byzantine art.

Much information concerning the life of the Roman soldiers at Dura was derived from renewed study of the walls of the Praetorium and the Temple of Artemis Azzanathcona, and supplementary excavations in the Temple of Artemis Nanaia yielded new data on the history of the Hellenistic period. Parchment documents of the Parthian period give information concerning

the administration and the business law of Greek cities under the Parthians. Three Roman baths were built about A. D. 210-215, and in 216 the garrison erected an amphitheater in part of what had been a Parthian bath. Two mines were discovered by which the Sassanians intended to undermine the walls. One of these was entered by a countermine, and several bodies were found of Roman soldiers who must have been killed in an underground battle.

The most sensational discovery was that of the synagogue, rebuilt on earlier foundations and dedicated in A. D. 245 by Samuel the "presbyteros" of the Jews. The interior was decorated with a series of paintings representing scenes of Jewish history and religion, more than half (21) of which are preserved in whole or in part. They are peculiarly important because they are definitely dated (A. D. 245-246). "The discovery bears on many very important problems, the history of the Jewish diaspora and of the Jewish religion, the history of painting (Iranian, Semitic, Greek), the history of the Bible and of the later Jewish theological writings, and the history of Christian art." All these problems are discussed in the text.

Many coins, inscriptions, works of sculpture (for the most part fragmentary), objects of wood, and twelve papyri and parchments were discovered. Perhaps the most important of these last is the only extant fragment (portions of fifteen lines) of Tatian's *Diatessaron*. Many pieces of military equipment add to our knowledge of the armament of the Roman army in the third century. Among these the most interesting are two trappings for horses, one of iron, the other of bronze scales, and a wooden legionary *scutum* the painted decoration of which is perfectly preserved. Some of the discoveries, among them the textiles, are reserved for the final publication.

The Library of Congress. HAROLD N. FOWLER.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Bede, his Life, Times, and Writings: Essays in Commemoration of the Twelfth Centenary of his Death. Edited by A. HAMILTON THOMPSON, Professor of History in the University of Leeds. With an Introduction by The Right Rev. The Lord Bishop of Durham. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1935. Pp. xvi, 277. $5.00.)

OF the nine essays that make up this volume the first four deal with Bede's life and its historical setting, the others with his work; but the line of demarcation is inevitably vague because there is little to be said of Bede's life apart from his work; inevitably, too, there is some repetition. In the opening essay, "The Life of the Venerable Bede", Professor Whiting of Durham gives an admirable introduction to Bede and his work. Dr. E. W. Watson in "The Age of Bede" weaves into an eighth century tapestry a variety of topics, including the monks' credulity, their accurate verbal knowl-

edge of the Scriptures, and their relations with the episcopate. Sir Charles Peers in his brief paper on "Wearmouth and Jarrow" identifies for us what still may survive of buildings which Bede himself knew. The weightiest essay in this first group is the editor's on "Northumbrian Monasticism", in which, in masterly fashion and with as great clarity as the subject permits, he traces the development of Celtic monachism from its Gallo-Roman origins to the transition in Northumbria from Scottish customs to a life in conformity with Benedictine practice. It is significant that the peculiar system of Celtic monasteries under which abbots exercised a jurisdiction that thwarted the rise of a diocesan episcopate took no root in Northumbria.

"Bede as Historian", by Dr. Wilhelm Levison of Bonn, the only non-British contributor to this volume, is a thorough and searching study of Bede's aims and achievements in chronology, hagiography, and history. "Bede as Exegete and Theologian", by Canon Jenkins, now professor of ecclesiastical history at Oxford, is an essay marked by great erudition lightly borne and displaying the qualities of sound learning and literary distinction, of sympathetic yet discerning criticism, that one expects from its author. In "Bede's Miracle Stories" Mr. B. Colgrove of Durham contributes an account which is not uninteresting in itself but, in one reader's judgment, of relatively slight significance. The late Dr. M. R. James's "The Manuscripts of Bede" is little more than a learned footnote or, rather, preface to the subject and is admittedly far from complete. The concluding essay, "The Library of the Venerable Bede", by Professor Laistner of Cornell, is a welcome contribution to *Kulturgeschichte,* fixing for us both the basis and the limits of the learning of the great eighth century scholar.

The errata which the reviewer has noted are too few and too trivial to require enumeration. In his preface the bishop of Durham says that he desired that the commemoration of Bede's death be marked by "a contribution of real value to our historical literature". Despite a regrettable but probably unavoidable unevenness in its contents, this volume would seem adequately to fulfill the bishop's desire.

Washington and Jefferson College. ALFRED H. SWEET.

Saecvli noni avctoris in Boetii Consolationem philosophiae commentarivs. Edidit EDMVND TAITE SILK. [Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome.] (Rome: the Academy. 1935. Pp. lxi, 349.)

BOETHIUS's well-known work, *De consolatione philosophiae,* exerted a powerful influence upon all branches of medieval learning. This influence gained additional impetus through many commentaries on the *Consolatio,* some from the pen of scholars of established reputation, others by authors as yet unidentified.

To the writing of contemporary history Horace applied the apt phrase. *periculosae plenum opus aleae.* I may be permitted to apply this phrase to the

editing of a medieval commentary, which has many pitfalls and surprises in store for an editor. This is especially true in Dr. Silk's case. Of the three manuscripts containing the text of this hitherto unnoticed commentary none offers the text in complete form. To establish the text Dr. Silk was obliged, therefore, to put the *disiecta membra* together. The result is a conservative and well-arranged text, with a good critical apparatus in which due consideration is given to the Insular features of the manuscripts. It will prove of great value and help to students of the *Consolatio.* Up to the present the lack of published texts rendered a systematic study of the commentaries well-nigh impossible. This condition is now remedied.

Silk's contribution, however, does not stop here. He tried to solve another and more difficult problem, that of the authorship. It has been believed that the brilliant scholar and philosopher, Johannes Scottus, was one of the early commentators on the *Consolatio.* Thirty years ago Professor E. K. Rand started a search for a commentary of Scottus. Dr. Silk has continued the search and tentatively attributes the authorship of the present commentary to Johannes Scottus. In an ably written introduction he offers plausible evidence that the commentary bears the imprint of Scottus's personality and that it contains statements strikingly characteristic of his doctrines, notions, and philosophical and theological views. Stylistic evidence, which is also brought into play, offers additional weight to Silk's argument that the commentary bears every mark of Scottus's teaching. No less plausible is the editor's argument that the commentary was written before the close of the ninth century. For this point the evidence which he gives from Remigius of Auxerre, another commentator on the *Consolatio,* is especially valuable. Both in the introduction and, on a larger scale, in the appendix he introduces passages from Remigius which clearly reveal the latter's mediocrity and inferiority as a scholar and his extensive indebtedness to and borrowings from the commentary attributed to Scottus. The problem, however, on the whole, will rest on a more solid foundation with the publication of a sound text of Remigius, and of this Dr. Silk is fully aware.

To sum up, Dr. Silk's edition is a valuable contribution. All interested in medieval studies, and students of medieval philosophy in particular, will find in it a mine of source material.

Hunter College. JACOB HAMMER.

History of Florence from the Founding of the City through the Renaissance. By FERDINAND SCHEVILL. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1936. Pp. xxxiv, 536. $5.00.)

A good-sized library has been accumulating during the last half century on the history of medieval Florence. The work of Davidsohn alone, which extends only to 1330, consists of more than five thousand pages, most of them in a German the meaning of which has often to be laboriously ground

out. Exceptional perseverance is required for the assimilation of so vast a bibliography with a view to constructing a synthesis of Florentine history for the use of the educated public. Professor Schevill has limited his field of labor to the political history of the city, including social and economic history only when indispensable to an understanding of political develpoments; intellectual history he has treated cursorily as a mere appendix to the political evolution. By thus circumscribing his subject he has succeeded in dominating it.

But even with this limitation upon his theme, the author had to face two serious difficulties. In the first place, if the political history of Florence from the eleventh to the fourteenth century has been virtually re-created by modern critical scholarship, this is not the case for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries or, to a less extent, for the fourteenth century. For these more recent times the attention of historians has been principally attracted by literature and art. As far as the political events are concerned, we are still obliged to rely mainly upon the accounts given by the old-fashioned historians like Capponi and Perrens. We may be sure that if the history of the later centuries were to be subjected to the same scrutiny that has been given to the early centuries, the traditional version would have to be greatly modified or completely abandoned. Professor Schevill, in composing an outline of Florentine history during the entire Middle Ages, was like a builder who has at his disposal steel for one wing of his construction and wood for the other.

To this initial difficulty was added a second. The ground on which the architect of a comprehensive history of Florence has to work is torn up by controversies on many important points. Where a generally accepted opinion had not yet crystallized, the author had to act as a judge between the contesting parties—a dangerous task, in truth. Having formed his own conclusion, was he then to present it to his readers as an established truth, or was he to state it tentatively, giving the arguments on which he had based it? If he had chosen the second solution, the narrative would have lost all unity, and it would have been necessary to extend the scope of the work. If he had followed the first path, he would have given his readers an incorrect idea of the achievements of historical research and would have assumed a pontifical air unbecoming a serious scholar.

The author has skillfully circumvented the second difficulty. He gives his own opinion on each controversial point, but at the same time he warns his reader that this point is still unsettled and indicates the books in which a discussion of the pros and cons may be found. But the first difficulty was insuperable, unless, indeed, the author had wished to rewrite the history of Florence from 1330 to 1530, in imitation of Davidsohn, who spent fifty years of his life in rewriting that history from 1100 to 1330. No one could fairly demand such heroism.

Under the circumstances, it would be pedantry to follow the author point by point, raising objections where they seem to be legitimate, listing books

which should not have been overlooked, or pointing out events which deserved greater emphasis. The important thing is that the present book is the product not only of intelligent and honest work—that goes without question, in view of the author's reputation—but is also a successful treatment of the subject. Schevill's compendium of Florentine history is the best that is available in any language. It deserves to be recommended to all who desire to learn what a conscientious historian in the present state of our knowledge may reasonably affirm about the history of medieval Florence.

I permit myself only one doubt. Would it not have been better to omit all consideration of intellectual history? The historian is not obliged to be a walking encyclopedia, as Mr. Schevill justly observes. Still more important, one ought to abstain from intermingling political and intellectual history, even if they both utilize in part the same material. For example, in the last twenty years of the thirteenth century the Florentines decided to build a third circle of wall around their city, planning it on a large scale in anticipation of a great urban expansion, which, in actual fact, did not take place; moreover, they also decided to construct a big church for the Dominicans, another for the Franciscans, and a new palace to be the seat of the municipal government. These facts, while primarily of concern to the history of architecture, throw light upon economic and political history as well, for they reveal the prosperity which the Florentines had attained and the patriotic pride to which the successes of the preceding century had given birth. But to discuss in what proportions the Gothic style was combined with the Romanesque in Florentine medieval edifices is a deviation from political history. The revival of classical studies produced profound effects upon the development of political thought and upon the political activities of the men of the Renaissance. No one can understand the political history of the Renaissance who does not take into account the mingling of Christian tradition and pagan thought which was characteristic of the culture of that age. But this is not a reason for including Petrarch in a political history of Florence, even if the Renaissance without Petrarch would be incomprehensible.

Those events which are of importance only to intellectual history ought not to be recorded in a book of political history, even in ancillary chapters, as Mr. Schevill has done. The readers who desire the history of art, literature, philosophy, or of cooking, should have recourse to other books.

Harvard University. GAETANO SALVEMINI.

The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages. By the late HASTINGS RASHDALL, Dean of Carlisle. A new edition in three volumes. Edited by F. M. POWICKE, Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford, and A. B. EMDEN, Principal of St. Edmund Hall, Oxford. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1936. Pp. xliv, 593; ix, 342; xxvi, 558. $21.00.)

IT is over forty years since the first edition of this standard work appeared,

and scholars have awaited with anticipation the publication of the revised edition promised by Professor Powicke and Mr. Emden. None will be disappointed, for the editors have accomplished in admirable fashion a task fraught with difficulties, producing a book that will long remain the most significant extended treatise on the early history of the university. Basically the work is that of Rashdall, but the new volumes represent a Rashdall enriched by skillful correction and incorporation of all that is essential from the writings of specialists who have worked since 1895. The editors have generously acknowledged the assistance given them by many scholars, but the work of revision represents primarily their own thought and judgment as to what should be done to improve Rashdall's book. Their task has been carried out in masterly fashion, each page reflecting the wisdom and care that guided their work.

Rashdall was a pioneer in a broad and rich field of learning, writing when many of the sources essential for his subject were still inaccessible in print and while important aspects of university life and custom were unexplored. The book was widely and, on the whole, favorably reviewed when it appeared in 1895. Aside from discussing points of controversy, critics noted that Rashdall's plan provided for what many felt was an excessively detailed treatment of constitutional questions and an unfortunate omission or curtailment of the history of the civilization of the age he was studying, a background necessary to any true understanding of the university itself. The editors of the new edition were fully aware of this deficiency but could not supplement Rashdall's work in this respect without destroying its structure. In spite of this criticism there has always been much in the work that deals with the civilization of the Middle Ages, but no systematic analysis of this subject was attempted. The plan of the book has been considered cumbersome by many, and certain sections give the impression that Rashdall had not solved his problem of organization in the most satisfactory way. Those who have worked through the earlier volumes with care know how often relevant material may be found in unsuspected places. As a writer Rashdall has often been accused of being unnecessarily dull and occasionally confused. Though it is evident that in many cases more careful attention to phrasing would have given greater clarity to the explanation of moot points, such a criticism is somewhat unjust, for at times he writes with vigor and distinction, reflecting the rational, critical, understanding mind that his friends knew so well. When occasion required he was not unable or unwilling to express himself with the force and vehemence that his opponents, especially Bishop Gore, were to feel more than once.

For more than a decade Rashdall's volumes have been rare items on booksellers' lists, and whenever copies were available the price demanded for them was almost prohibitive. This new edition makes a work of fundamental importance to scholars and other intelligent readers now available to

a wider circle. The new edition comes at a critical time, when the meaning, purpose, and function of the university as an institution must be re-examined and its relation to authority and to traditional and novel modes of thought better understood. The history of its earlier years offers much material for reflection on the part of those concerned with the welfare of the university in modern society, for the medieval university, too, was often conscious of opposition from civil and ecclesiastical powers, of attempts at censorship and regimentation of thought, and on occasion of defending its right to be heard in the world of affairs.

Rashdall's two volumes in three parts are now published in three volumes, each volume paged separately. In this way the involved pagination of the two parts of Volume II of the first issue has been avoided. The paging of the earlier edition is indicated on every fifth page in the new printing and no difficulties should be encountered by those wishing to refer from one edition to the other. Insertions in the text and additions to the footnotes are set off by brackets so that the work of Rashdall and that of his editors are distinguishable at a glance. The volumes are handsomely printed and bound and are furnished with an extended index that has been found surprisingly accurate wherever checked.

In their general introduction the editors state that Rashdall's "book is not a 'classic', like Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* or Macaulay's *History of England*". This is undoubtedly true, but with its wealth of bibliographical information and important additional notes the revised edition takes on "classic" proportions. The bibliographies are brought up to 1934 and with the mass of references to be acquired from the notes form the most complete comprehensive bibliography that we possess for the intellectual history of Europe from the twelfth through the fifteenth century. New material is most abundant for Bologna, Oxford, and Paris—those centers which were the primary interest of Rashdall when he first began his investigations—and every endeavor has been made to incorporate this properly in the sections devoted to these universities. The other university centers have not been neglected in the revision, as is shown by the use of materials and criticism supplied by Professor W. J. Entwistle for the chapter on "The Universities of Spain and Portugal", by Professor G. R. Potter for that on "The Universities of Germany, Bohemia, and the Low Countries", and by Professor R. K. Hannay for the section on Scotland.

The general introduction and that preceding the section on Oxford and Cambridge are especially significant as new contributions. In the first Rashdall's work is set forth in comparison with the investigations of Denifle and others to whom he acknowledged his indebtedness; in the latter his contention that Oxford owed its origin to an emigration from Paris in 1167 is sympathetically questioned in the light of modern research, the inadequacy of his picture of Oxford in the history of medieval thought is discussed, and the

reorientation of studies necessary for a true understanding of the history and importance of Oxford is presented. Many additional notes are appended to various chapters and sections, supplying much significant new detail, criticism, and correction. Here, as well as in the notes and introductions, the editors have indicated subjects demanding further research. They have done all that they could to show the way; it is for others to go on.

Princeton University. GRAY C. BOYCE.

De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi (*The Conquest of Lisbon*). Edited from the unique manuscript in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, with a translation into English by CHARLES WENDELL DAVID, Professor of European History in Bryn Mawr College. [Records of Civilization, General Editor, Austin P. Evans.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1936. Pp. x, 201. $3.75.)

THE precious twelfth century memoir of which this is the third complete publication unquestionably deserves much wider scholarly attention than it has hitherto attracted. It furnishes a detailed account, in epistolary form, of "the sole important success achieved by the Second Crusade", a success of large consequence in the history of Portugal and its relations with England and the Low Countries. The author of this memoir or letter remains still "in a kind of perplexing half-world, neither known nor yet wholly anonymous"; but there can be no doubt that he was an intelligent, observing, and actively interested participant in the enterprise he recorded. After informing his correspondent that a large force of men from the lower Rhinelands, Flanders, England, and Normandy had "assembled in the port of Dartmouth in about one hundred and sixty-four vessels" (pp. 52 ff.)—for the purpose, it is intimated later (pp. 79, 103), of journeying to Jerusalem on crusade—the writer of the letter recounts the activities and experiences of these crusaders from their departure from Dartmouth, on May 23, 1147, to an indeterminate date several weeks or months posterior to their capture of Lisbon from the Moors on October 24 of the same year. He offers a generous amount of more or less accurate and original travelogue comment, also a full account of the negotiations with King Alfonso I of Portugal and with the Moors; and he incorporates several apparently authentic sermons and addresses, which are not without importance for study of the development of the *Kreuzzugsidee*. At the end he expresses his fervent wish that the vanquished may accept the Christian faith and so find their sorrow turned into joy—a sentiment often held to be incompatible with the true crusading spirit.

The fact that the entire memoir had already been published twice in no wise detracts from the value or merits of the present publication, for although Professor David's study of the earlier editions yielded him some profit (see pp. viii, 48), those editions were found to be on the whole sadly deficient and, of course, far removed from present-day standards. The principles followed

by David in editing the text appear to the reviewer to be entirely justifiable, and his introduction and notes are about as exhaustive as could well be desired. His translation seems in general both accurate and elegant; nor will anyone demur because he has made "slight departures from strict grammatical construction when the rudeness of the Latin [which is often appalling] seemed to require it". Two passages may be cited which, the reviewer ventures to believe, do not quite convey the probable sense of the original. Toward the middle of page 161 there is a sentence which runs in part as follows: "we quieted down by degrees and retired to camp, leaving the engine in the keeping of a hundred of our knights". This rendering gives the impression that the writer of the memoir was among the men who retired to camp, whereas the sequel clearly shows that he remained with those who were to guard the engine—as indeed he must have if he is to be identified (p. 41 and p. 146, n. 3) with the priest who said, in a previously delivered sermon: "I . . . will remain with you in this engine while life shall last" (p. 157). The only possible objection to the theory that the priest in question was the writer of the memoir would seem to be the reference in the memoir to *uxoribus nostris* (p. 130); and this objection, it will be agreed, is by no means decisive—not even on the unnecessary assumption that the writer included himself under the term *nostris*. It may be suggested, also, that if the words *et iam* (p. 39, line 3) are an error for *etiam* (see p. 134, line 11), a slight revision of the translation at this point would seem desirable.

All students of the crusading movement will gratefully welcome this first-class edition and translation of one of its least exploited records.

The University of Chicago. EINAR JORANSON.

Raymond III of Tripolis and the Fall of Jerusalem, 1140-1187. By MARSHALL WHITHED BALDWIN. (Princeton: University Press. 1936. Pp. viii, 177. $2.00.)

To write an unprejudiced critical biography of a man who has been judged by his contemporaries and by posterity as anything from the greatest statesman of his country to the archtraitor thereof is no easy task, but it is one which Dr. Baldwin has accomplished with distinction in this study.

Eulogized by William of Tyre and damned by Amboise, the character of Count Raymond has been the subject of spirited controversy among historians of the crusades. Dr. Baldwin rejects the charges of treason formerly brought against Raymond, relegating them to an appendix as recognizedly unfounded, and concentrates on an exposition of his career as a man who "is now generally regarded as a victim of circumstances and as one who, despite adversity, contributed much and might have contributed more to the welfare of the kingdom" (p. 5). The thesis of the work is found in the introduction where Dr. Baldwin states: "His career is a key to a better understanding of the causes of the decline and fall of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in

1187". The book is actually a careful and detailed study of the political conditions in Jerusalem in the years immediately preceding and including Saladin's conquest of the kingdom. The characteristic which most impresses the reader is Baldwin's extreme moderation in judgment and the careful analysis of all points of view before stating his conclusions. In his excellent discussion of the rise of the baronial and court parties Baldwin shows the utmost impartiality and gives Raymond's enemies more than their due.

Great attention is given throughout the work to precision in chronology. The statement that the coronation of Guy was "probably sometime during the summer" of 1186 (p. 76, n. 18) is not consistent, however, with the evidence quoted (p. 78) that "he was crowned in the middle of September". It is also stretching things a bit to refer to the Ibelins as "an old family of the kingdom" in 1184 (p. 62), since they had been established there only during the reign of Foulque (1131-1143).

The bibliography is a model of all that bibliographies should be, not only analyzing the sources but citing criticisms in such works as Molinier and Gross. The omission of Pirie-Gordon's article on the Princes of Galilee (*English Historical Review*, 1912) is more than compensated for by the inclusion of unpublished theses.

Because of the specialization of its subject, Dr. Baldwin's monograph will have but a limited appeal, but it is a book which all historians of the Crusades will read with pleasure, study with profit, and assign to their classes with confidence. By far the best work on the period in English, it is a contribution to scholarship and a credit both to its author and to the seminar of the late Dana C. Munro in which it was conceived.

University of Cincinnati. JOHN L. LA MONTE.

Select Cases in the Court of King's Bench under Edward I. Edited by G. O. SAYLES. Volume I. [Selden Society.] (London: Bernard Quaritch. 1936. Pp. clxx, 260.)

SINCE the publication of Maitland's *Pleas of the Crown*, fifty years ago, the Selden Society has devoted far more attention to the proceedings of various equitable and extraordinary tribunals than to the better-known courts of common law. It is therefore a matter for congratulation that at length we are provided with an adequate treatment of one of the principal law courts at a critical period of its development. A thoroughly competent editor is found in Dr. Sayles, a noted investigator in legal history, who combines with technical skill a broad comprehension of the subject. After an assiduous search among the multiplex records, he has selected for his initial volume 120 typical cases that are taken from as many as 60 separate rolls.

An introduction of some length traces the evolution of the court, which begins as one of the branches, and perhaps the main branch, of the original curia regis. From the time of King John there were potentially two courts,

or at any rate sessions of justices, namely the common bench and the king's bench, functioning side by side. The development of the latter, however, was intermittent, subsiding during the minority of Henry III and obscured under subsequent regencies, until with the accession of Edward I there was thought to be no anomaly in a body of justices sitting *coram rege* even while the king remained overseas. Although the attendance of the king was henceforth mainly theoretical, his "bodily presence" is sometimes noted. Even so, in a season when the king was with his army in Wales, the justices were reported as not hearing pleas (p. 30). Different from the common bench, and somewhat similar to the exchequer, the present court was not yet quite distinct from the king's council, which in this connection appears as an augmented session of justices and other attendants, or as Maitland called it, "the king's bench raised to a higher power". Between the larger and the smaller body Mr. Sayles finds a greater degree of divergence than was understood by the late Professor Adams. All agree that in its conciliar form the court assumed a free procedure with unrestricted powers, whereas the bench in its lower denomination was becoming a tribunal of prescribed jurisdiction, that is to say of common law. The introduction continues with a study of the justices, attorneys, pleaders, clerks, and the custody of the rolls, furnishing an abundance of data bearing upon the operative efficiency of the court.

At this stage of its history the jurisdiction of the court is hardly subject to classification. It heard both civil and criminal pleas indiscriminately, according to the relative importance apparently rather than the nature of the case. Still it was a valid exception for a litigant to cite Magna Carta to the effect that common pleas should not follow a migratory court but be held in a fixed place. According to its original purpose the king's bench had a claim to all cases affecting the rights and dignity of the crown, in regard to which any serious question was likely to be discussed in council besides being submitted to the king himself. Thus, no fief of the king was to be alienated without his license, nor should recovery be precluded by any lapse of time (p. 48). The king was not to be restricted to the use of ordinary writs, and he might devise new writs whenever necessary (p. 54); neither ought he to submit the facts to a jury if other proof were available (p. 97). With strong emphasis on criminal cases it is at one point laid down that "pleas touching a man's death more particularly concern the crown and dignity of the lord king than any other pleas and ought to be settled first" (p. 167). Because of its semicriminal procedure the tortious action of trespass was especially appropriate and under an expansive interpretation increasingly popular. Alleging violence with force and arms, often with manifest exaggeration, suitors might be seeking merely a drastic means of recovery with heavy damages, while the punitive results were a minor consideration.

Much of the business in hand consisted in the review of cases, the records of which were called up from the inferior courts of common pleas, the eyres,

and the counties; but no such demands were made upon baronial courts. No longer were justices prosecuted for their decisions, but they were sometimes called upon to explain whatever obscurities appeared in their records. Thus errors were found when a judgment had been reached without the defendant's having been summoned (p. 155); when a statute was applied retroactively (p. 176); when the justices had failed to allow a challenge at the proper point (p. 162). There was ceaseless insistence that a writ should follow an exact form, and on one occasion a register was produced in court to test its mere order of words. A writ quashed in part should be quashed *in toto* (p. 88). Subsidiary to the main pleadings of affirmation and denial, a refinement and amplification of the argument by means of the *exceptio* was the opportunity of skillful pleaders; but exceptions should not be taken after judgment (p. 89). In spite of a growing rigidity in the rules of procedure these were sometimes modified by the "equity" of the court (p. 41). Proof of the facts, with the consent of the parties, was commonly given to a jury, a method which was not always possible, as when the matter in question had taken place abroad or on the high seas. In a suit that was being heard under the law merchant, several witnesses in turn were sworn and examined (p. 71), a mode of extracting testimony that was to be developed much further. From this point the reader may be induced to follow many other applications of feudal law and of common law, as well as interpretations of statutes.

In the work as a whole the reviewer sees so much to praise that he is reluctant to find any fault whatsoever. Among the accessories the lists of judges and other functionaries will be found most useful. The translations, which are drawn with a free hand, are always intelligible but run to a degree of unconventionality that may not always be preferred. The "Index Rerum", under an analytical arrangement that is well conceived, is far from being complete, and because of the omission of references here and there is apt to be misleading. Two pictured illustrations of scenes taken from contemporary manuscripts lend a finishing touch.

Vassar College. J. F. Baldwin.

Medieval Representation and Consent: A Study of Early Parliaments in England and Ireland, with Special Reference to the Modus Tenendi Parliamentum. By M. V. Clarke, Fellow of Somerville College, Oxford. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1936. Pp. vii, 408. $7.00.)

This legacy of a brilliant Oxford scholar is a fresh attempt to analyze the problems of the date and authorship of the *Modus tenendi parliamentum*. The study has led the author to consider this enigmatic document in the light of recent work on parliamentary history, and she has fitted the discussion into the background of political and ecclesiastical ideas of which she believes it forms a part. It is perhaps doubtful whether Miss Clarke's book would have appeared in exactly its present form had its auth[illegible] had time to

refine many of her arguments and to reflect at leisure upon her conclusions. Many chapters bear the mark of sectional rather than consecutive composition; and competent as is her scholarship, vivid as are the flashes of real perception, the subjectiveness and intensity with which the conclusions are stressed reflect the difficulties of ill-health under which the greater part of the work was written. There are, however, many provocative suggestions on the doctrine of consent; the ecclesiastical origin of the relation of representation and taxation has been cogently proved from new material drawn from church registers; and the chapters on clerical proctors in parliament and convocation are a real *Forschung*. Scholars also have much to be thankful for in Miss Clarke's able collation of the manuscripts of the *Modus*, which completes the work begun by Bémont (*Mélanges Havet*, pp. 465-480) and Liebermann (*Über die Leges Anglorum*, pp. 101 ff.).

The arguments for an early date of the *Modus* (1322) are not, however, entirely convincing, and there is little advance on the conclusions of Professor Morris in his article in the *English Historical Review* (XLIX, 402-422). The disappearance of clerical proctors in parliament by 1340 and the silence of the *Modus* on commons' petitions is strong evidence on her side, but much of the rest is entirely circumstantial. Although the author perceives that the *Modus* is nearer to Irish practice than to English (p. 60), she argues that the English version precedes the Irish, while neglecting to explain why the *Modus* has always had an official standing in Ireland and not in England. In this connection, the case put by Prynne has not been examined; and we must always return to the blunt fact that the earliest extant manuscript is *ca.* 1386. When proof is sought in the Statute of York (1322), the result can only be described as unfortunate, for the sense of the statute has been twisted into a meaning which the words will never bear. It is inconceivable that the *Modus* should have become a "working basis for constitutional practice", or (p. 173) that the statute represents an "ideal of the harmonious coöperation of all the estates" (whatever that may be).

In general the chapters on parliament and lay representation are open to serious criticism. The year 1311 is no turning point in the history of the "commons", as a glance at the researches of Richardson and Sayles will indicate. The statement that the king and council requested parliament to repeal the Ordinances in 1322 is incorrect, as an inspection of the memorandum to the council (Davies, *Baronial Opposition*, pp. 582-583) will reveal. It is as patently untrue that Edward I's "Parliament of the estates was the public assembly of a coherent society" as that the commons had then a "direct share in the creation of public law" (p. 3[illegible]). It is clear that the background of law and legal ideas has been noticeably neglected, as is shown by the bold dictum on the coronation oath (p. 208) and the looseness with which such words as "legislation", "parliament", and "estates" are used. The discussion of the theory of the medieval state is weakened by the author's

having failed to see the writings of Fritz Kern and Heinrich Mitteis. Similarly she does not seem to know the recent work of A. B. White (*Self-Government at the King's Command*) and of O. Hintze (*Historische Zeitschrift,* CXLI, 229-248, CXLIII, 1-47).

Many books, though cited in the footnotes, evidently came to hand too late for any effective use, as in the case of the recent articles of Professors Lunt and Willard, J. G. Edwards, and Richardson and Sayles. The index is unfortunately inadequate, and the usage in footnote citations is by no means consistent: *de* and *of,* for example, are used indiscriminately before surnames. Among the minor errors the following are noted: p. 213, n. 4 should refer to the *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research,* not to Tout; on p. 164 the references in notes 2 and 3 should be reversed, and Lancaster should read Engayne, or the reference should be to Rymer and not to the Cleopatra MSS.; Justinian's *Code* and the title of Gierke's book are not quite correctly cited (respectively, pp. 264, 276); Bartholomew *de* Cotton is not the chronicler's name (p. 396); and there is an incorrect date on p. 165.

The real difficulty is that through having a double aim, an analysis of the *Modus* and a discussion of the doctrines of consent, the book attempts too much and suffers in emphasis and arrangement. The forthcoming study of Mr. H. G. Richardson should solve many of the present problems. Meanwhile Miss Clarke has raised many important issues which will provoke much discussion, and all will regret that this present book is only an instalment of what she might have given, had she lived, to the learned world.

Harvard University. GEORGE L. HASKINS.

A History of Mediæval Political Theory in the West. By R. W. CARLYLE and A. J. CARLYLE. Volume VI, *Political Theory from 1300 to 1600.* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons. 1936. Pp. xxv, 551. 30*s*.)

THIS volume completes a task begun forty-five years ago. Sir Robert Warrand Carlyle, elder of the two authors, died in 1934, at the age of seventy-five; he had participated directly in the writing only of Volume V. The other volumes are mainly the work of Dr. Alexander James Carlyle (now in his seventy-sixth year), who dedicates this final volume to the memory of his brother and adds a warm acknowledgment of the latter's aid, by way of advice and criticism, throughout the work.

In the preface to their first volume (published in 1903) the authors announced that they were undertaking a history "strictly of theory, not of institutions". Occasional reviewers have rebuked them for having held too closely to their plan. Some of such reviewers maintain that a history of political ideas cannot be set forth adequately unless it deals extensively with the actual deeds of rulers and assemblies, even when these make no declarations of general beliefs implied in their acts and decisions; others hold that

a "live", "realistic" history of ideas requires constant explanation of the relation of the ideas to their economic environment or "cause"; or they declare that a record of theories appears "flat" and "static" if the writer does not tie the record together by a single thread of historical interpretation—he cannot be "vivid" or "dynamic" unless he first devotes himself to one philosophy of history.

These criticisms seem hardly appropriate to the work of the Carlyles. In the first place, their study was not limited wholly to the systematic political discussions set forth by theologians, jurists, and philosophers; they recorded the claims, protests, and pronouncements made by kings, courts, political assemblies, and ecclesiastical officials, insofar as such declarations of policy seemed to reveal more clearly the general political beliefs held by reflective men of the age. Secondly, no two men could have produced, even in forty years of work, a satisfactory social encyclopedia of the Middle Ages. Thirdly, although the Carlyles did not select those particular features of medieval political thought and action that would serve only to illustrate some preconceived dogma of historical interpretation, their history as a whole does have logical movement and follows the development of certain leading ideas throughout the period of their study. They have given us a comprehensive, co-ordinated, clear, thoroughly documented, copiously illustrated account of the political ideas current among the scholars and social leaders of Western Europe from the beginning of the Christian era to the end of the sixteenth century.

This concluding volume is broken into four chronological parts, dealing respectively with the fourteenth, fifteenth, early sixteenth, and later sixteenth, century. For each of these periods there are chapters on the source and authority of law, the nature of political rulership, and the developing activities and claims of representative institutions. In each of the first three parts there are separate chapters for ideas of the civilians and canonists; the first part has a chapter on the advocates of a universal European state; the second and third parts have chapters on the theory of the divine right of kings; and the fourth part has a long chapter on Bodin, Thomas Bilson, James I, Barclay, Albericus Gentilis, and lesser advocates of absolute monarchy. Dr. Carlyle, in the reviewer's opinion, has dealt least successfully with the later sixteenth century: there are occasional evidences here of hurried writing, and the account of Bodin seems particularly inconclusive. A technically competent reviewer, seeking to check the numerous translations and paraphrases in the volume, would probably find few opportunities to point to mistakes in rendition. The present reviewer, however, sees no reason why, in the account of Nicolas of Cusa's discussion of the proper composition of an imperial council (pp. 215-216), the words *universitatum magnarum rectores et magistri* should be rendered as "heads of the great communities", for these terms appear in

other passages of Nicolas's same work (*De concordantia catholica*) where the context seems to make it clear that he is talking of rectors and teachers of the great universities.

At a few places the writing could probably have been considerably compressed without any sacrifice of clarity or completeness. On the whole, however, one of the great values of this volume, as of the earlier volumes, is to be found in the fullness of the exposition and illustration. Moreover, the extension of the study to the end of the sixteenth century enabled the author to show clearly that "modern" political theories have generally taken over ideas prevalent throughout the Middle Ages and set forth with increasing precision and emphasis during the later centuries of that period.

In a brief "Conclusion of the Whole Work" Dr. Carlyle sets down what seem to him to have been "the most important elements" of medieval political thought. The early Christian conception of the state, as a conventional rather than a natural society and as basically associated in some of its essential phases with man's lower nature, persisted throughout the Middle Ages. Yet an older idea, that justice is an essential quality of the true state, was also a characteristic medieval conception. Justice, the medieval theorists believed, takes effective form in laws; and laws are expressions not of the will of any ruling king or assembly but of the stable habits of life of the people of a political community. Thus the community is the source of law, and all members of the community, including the rulers themselves, are limited by law. The fifteenth and sixteenth century idea that rulers have their offices by divine right, or by virtue of some irrevocable delegation of authority from the community, is an "intrusive" conception, a "barbarous innovation", "alien to the rational and intelligible political tradition of the Middle Ages".

In the view of the Carlyles, then, medieval political thought was not, as more superficial accounts have asserted or implied, narrowly subordinated to doctrines of the Christian Bible and the Catholic Church. Medieval theorists retained and carried forward older political ideas, expounding them in reference to changing cultural conditions. Theorists of the later Middle Ages were showing how a most ancient and general political principle—affirming the supremacy of the community and its customary law over all political rulers—took the form, in the extensive communities of developing national states, of a more specific principle, that of legislation by consent of a national parliament representing the constituent groups of a national political community.

Thus this history of medieval political ideas has been written under the general inspiration of a broad philosophy of history. The authors have regarded "the supremacy of the law over all persons" as perhaps "the most essential characteristic of a rational social order". Dr. A. J. Carlyle concludes the long work with an expression of his assurance that "the development of the principles of political civilisation in the Middle Ages" reveals "the moral

and political genius of the Western nations . . . making its way through immense difficulties, and through what often seems an intolerable confusion, to rational and intelligible ends, to some kind of reconciliation of the principles of liberty and authority". Whether or not the reader shares this old political faith, he will probably agree that no other work in any language approaches nearly this work in the fullness of its clear and authentic exposition of medieval political ideas in Western Europe.

Yale University. FRANCIS W. COKER.

The Usurpation of Richard the Third: Dominicus Mancinus ad Angelum Catonem de occupatione regni Anglie per Riccardum tercium libellus. Now first printed and translated with an Introduction by C. A. J. ARMSTRONG, Research Fellow of Hertford College, Oxford. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1936. Pp. xv, 172. $3.50.)

THIS *libellus,* as the author modestly and accurately called it, was found by the present editor in 1934 in the Lille Municipal Library. The manuscript had long lain in a private collection and had escaped notice for centuries. Dominic Mancini, a learned Italian and probably belonging to the Augustinian order, happened to be in England and in a favorable position to observe public affairs during the exciting events of the spring and early summer of 1483. He may have first come to England on some papal or other mission late in 1482, and he almost certainly left during July, 1483—never to return. He had been, in a way, under the patronage of Angelo Cato, archbishop of Vienne, who was so struck with Mancini's oral account of the sensational happenings in England that he persuaded him to put them in writing. This appears to have been his only exploit in history or indeed in prose, his other works being of a religious or philosophical nature and in poetic form. He wrote in Latin, and an excellent translation accompanies this edition of his *libellus.*

As Mancini finished his writing early in December, 1483, it is more closely contemporary than any other existing account of Richard's seizure of the throne and is significant as coming from a detached and highly intelligent foreigner. An announcement of the discovery and an interesting appraisal of the work appeared in the London *Times* of May 26, 1934 (by a typographical error cited in the preface as of May 24). Mr. Armstrong emphasizes the manuscript's prefacing the main action with a lively and personal picture of Edward IV, its confirmation of some hitherto doubtful points in More, Polydor Virgil, and the Croyland Chronicle, its showing Richard's success as due largely to Buckingham and Hastings and indicating the critical situation in the country, the insistence on the importance of the navy in the short war with France which broke out before the death of Edward IV, the confirmation of the murder of the princes but an acquittal of Richard as responsible

for Clarence's death, the expression of a high opinion of England's government, especially of parliament, and at the end the entertaining topographical account of London and its suburbs.

For a tyro in history, Mancini wrote with remarkable restraint and objectivity, his work bearing a striking resemblance to the reports of the Venetian ambassadors. He was writing at the time of the second group of Renaissance historians, and what he produced is almost as instructive from the point of view of historiography as for its rather slight additions to our knowledge of a famous episode. Mr. Armstrong has written a long introduction, containing elaborate accounts of both Mancini and Angelo Cato, giving every possible setting for the text; and the text itself is annotated with lavish scholarship.

The University of Minnesota. A. B. White.

Francesco Balducci Pegolotti: La pratica della mercatura. Edited by Allan Evans. [The Mediaeval Academy of America.] (Cambridge: the Academy. 1936. Pp. liv, 443. $7.00.)

Dr. Evans's new edition of Pegolotti's handbook for merchants (completed about 1340) surpasses the highest expectations of those who have eagerly awaited its publication. Evans has made an important medieval text available in a very usable form; the imperfect edition of 1760, published as Volume III of Pagnini's *Della decima,* was difficult to read and inaccessible to most scholars. The typography and legibility of the new edition are excellent. An examination of the critical apparatus will convince any scholar of the thoroughness and skill with which the editor has applied the best methods of textual criticism.

The introduction contains a very interesting biography of Francesco Pegolotti, one of the most trusted factors of the Bardi banking house. Years spent in service abroad—now in Antwerp and London, then in Cyprus—made Pegolotti thoroughly acquainted with the commercial practices of various countries, so that he was well qualified to write a handbook for merchants. Besides drawing on his personal information, Pegolotti used much statistical material, which he obtained from reliable sources. He gave not only details about the European trade centers, routes, wares, coins, weights and measures, but also much information about the Levant and a famous description of the road to Cathay. Evans has succeeded in locating a surprising number of Pegolotti's sources. He discusses later compilers of similar manuals who evidently borrowed more or less extensively from Pegolotti.

The text of this definitive edition of Pegolotti's handbook is based upon the sole surviving manuscript, which is twice removed from the original copy, collated with Pagnini's version. Both contain numerous scribal or typographical errors. The emendations made by Evans are printed in the body of the present text, whenever possible, with the versions of the manu-

script and of Pagnini in the footnotes. This method, which may not meet with the approval of all scholars, certainly results in a much more readable text than the method of giving all emendations in footnotes. The pagination of Pagnini's edition is given in the margin. The usefulness of this feature is obvious.

The analytical glossaries and indexes, which occupy fifty pages, are a veritable mine of compact information. Not only students using the text of Pegolotti but also those working on manuscripts or printed sources—literary as well as historical and English as well as Continental—of the century of Pegolotti will find in these glossaries the solution of many puzzling problems. With infinite patience and care Evans has succeeded in identifying most of the foreign place names and queerly Italianized terms. In addition to the general glossary of place names the editor has prepared several others: one of toll stations on the road from Ayas to Tabriz, one of English religious houses which sold wool, one of weights and measures, and one of commodities—the latter with masterly summaries of recent information on articles of trade, the meanings of which are not quite certain. These glossaries are completed by an index of monies, one of proper names, and one of subjects and miscellaneous terms.

In conclusion, the new edition of Pegolotti is a storehouse of information which is indispensable to all workers in the field of medieval economic history and will be useful to others in allied or distant fields. As the Italian text will offer linguistic difficulties to many, it is hoped that the English translation already prepared by Evans may soon appear.

Cambridge, Mass. FLORENCE EDLER.

El libro di mercatantie et Usanze de' Paesi. Edited by FRANCO BORLANDI. [Documenti e Studi per la Storia del Commercio e del Diritto Commerciale Italiano.] (Turin: S. Lattes. 1936. Pp. li, 216.)

AMONG the sources for early business history first place is no doubt taken by accounts, registers, and other records of actual business transactions. Beside these, however, for explicit discussion of phenomena to which accountants' entries may supply only a partial clue, should be placed the merchants' manuals, "guides for the business man" which assemble copious information concerning weights and measures, tariffs, coinage values, shipping routes, and financial technique. Some of the early Italian manuals have been much consulted, notably the large compilations by Pegolotti and Uzzano to which access was facilitated by the printed edition of 1766. The subject of the present work, however, the fifteenth century manual commonly attributed to Giorgio Chiarini, has been comparatively neglected. It is known largely because Paciolo copied it entire into his famous treatise on accounting and so occasioned an agreeable scholarly controversy over his "plagiarism".

Yet, as the editor remarks, this *Libro di Mercatantie* has its own peculiar value, both because of its originally wide diffusion and because it furnishes a survey of the commercial world immediately before new channels of trade were opened by the great explorations.

The path of the modern reader who wishes to consult this text is made smooth by an admirable introduction in which the editor discusses the history and composition of the book and analyzes the relationship between the three manuscripts and four incunabular editions which he consulted. He is particularly to be congratulated upon his discovery of the section hitherto missing from the Parma edition of 1498. For purposes of record it may be remarked that there is a fourth manuscript, *Cod. Targioni 12,* in the *Biblioteca nazionale* in Florence. The text itself is here presented according to an excellent plan. Using as a basis the oldest manuscript, the editor notes important variants in other versions. A second series of notes contains illustrative material, including many quotations of parallel, in some cases identical, passages from four earlier manuals. There are useful glossaries of terms and place names.

It is unfortunate that so promising a plan should have been spoiled in the execution, but it may as well be said at once that the text here published is unsatisfactory. We may pass over omissions in the list of errata, and even numerous errors in the excerpts from Pegolotti, but not faults of collation. Three versions of the text are available to the reviewer, *X, Z,* and some photographs of *Y;* these suffice to reveal disquieting gaps in the apparatus. In one case a sentence of three lines is omitted without notice, and a serious number of divergent figures, additional phrases, or alternative readings are equally disregarded. The scope of this review forbids details, but it must be remarked that many of the variants materially affect the sense of the passage and that, since these fifteenth century editions are in effect contemporary recensions, accurate reproduction of them is indispensable.

Texts of this sort, teeming with unfamiliar technical terms and abbreviations, were peculiarly subject to corruption, and one may regret that the editor has been so reluctant to emend or to suggest possible emendations. There are many cases in which the excerpts from other manuals, to say nothing of the variants, suggest obvious corrections of the basic text, yet seldom is the reader, who may be unfamiliar with material of this type, assisted by explicit editorial comment.

This text may accurately represent the version of manuscript *A,* but, if so, *A* is manifestly for many passages an unreliable authority. In view, further, of the objections noted above, the present edition cannot be considered definitive. The introduction and glossaries are, however, valuable, and they will effectively rescue this document from neglect.

Harvard University. ALLAN EVANS.

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

A History of France from the Death of Louis XI. By JOHN S. C. BRIDGE. Volume V, *France in 1515.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1936. Pp. xvi, 366. $5.50.)

SYNTHESIS of accumulating results, in facts and ideas, of historical research produced by scholars within the last two or three generations has usually been effected by some sort of co-operative effort. But in two notable instances individual historians have been bold enough to attempt single-handedly, on a large scale, with some pretensions to completeness and with conscious literary effort, the history of a period. One historian is a Frenchman writing the story of England in the last century, the other an Englishman presenting the history of modern France. It is the latter's most recent volume which is under review. It was eight years ago that the two preceding volumes appeared (*Am. Hist. Rev.,* XXXV, 837), and readers who found the earlier parts of this work stimulating were beginning to wonder if the project had been abandoned.

Perhaps the delay is to be explained by the fact that the writing of this present volume presented to the author a very different, and probably more difficult, problem from that presented by the earlier ones. They were narratives dealing with political and military events within a comparatively short period. This is a description of institutional, financial, commercial, agricultural, industrial, and social conditions, requiring for their explanation not only a thorough understanding of a long historical background but also a grasp of the historical future for which these conditions in their turn provide the background. Consequently this volume is very different from its predecessors, and the reader who turns to it with too vivid recollections of them is in danger of suffering an initial disappointment. He will miss the movement of narration. He will note that there was no opportunity for the brilliant characterization of personalities and very little for apt quotation from contemporary observers. Even the style is hampered by the change in subject matter, and only occasionally are there passages reminiscent of the older literary historians, although for an instant at one place the author does give a glimpse of his poetical abilities. It is practically impossible, however, to discuss economic matters in detail without considerable enumeration of places and products. Apparently the best that can be done is the inclusion at the appropriate points of interesting details about the processes of fulling and enameling, the discovery of alum, or the importance of woad.

There are four chapters on political conditions, which give due consideration to the recent work of Dupont-Ferrier, and four more (about half the book) on economic conditions, with similar regard for the studies of Boissonade and Bloch and with emphasis upon the monetary revolution and its

consequences. A single chapter on social conditions, by the nature of the subject one of the most enjoyable, concludes the work. In general the aim is to show why and how France was a united and prosperous state despite the unsuccessful Italian ventures. This serves both as a preliminary for considering the kingdom of Francis I about to enter upon a long struggle with the Habsburg empire and also as the basis for a discussion of the gradual transition from medieval to modern conditions. For the thoughtful reader this latter phase will be one of the most interesting aspects of the book. It will become clear that the *ancien régime,* which so many books discuss as preliminary to the French Revolution, was fully developed in the sixteenth century. The extension of state power through the development of central institutions and the disposition of that power more and more to assert itself in the economic field have so many possible parallels to aspects of our own times that they suggest that these are sociological phenomena characteristic of transition periods from one culture epoch to another.

Williams College. RICHARD A. NEWHALL.

The Education of a Christian Prince. By DESIDERIUS ERASMUS. Translated with an Introduction on Erasmus and on Ancient and Medieval Political Thought by LESTER K. BORN. [Records of Civilization, Austin P. Evans, General Editor.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1936. Pp. ix, 277. $3.75.)

ANY addition to the body of Erasmus's writings that has been translated into English is always welcome. The age has passed when it could be taken for granted that all educated men were able to read Latin, but the interest and value of Erasmus's work have not passed with it. The treatise on *The Education of a Christian Prince* is not, perhaps, one of the humanist's greater works. It lacks the universality of *The Praise of Folly* or the *Colloquies,* and even in its own field of political theory it has not the originality of its better known contemporary, *The Prince* of Machiavelli. Yet there is much sound wisdom in it, and not all of it the wisdom of the ancients whom Erasmus quotes so frequently.

That few of the ideas in the treatise are entirely original is amply demonstrated in the translator's introductory chapters on ancient and medieval works of the same type as well as by the numerous footnotes appended to the text. These chapters, heavily documented as they are, will be of value to the student of political theory; but to one more interested in Erasmus and his thought they may seem slightly irrelevant. For, however commonplace the ideas of the *Institutio* may be, taken separately, the ancient materials have been so fused in the mind of Erasmus that the whole is thoroughly Erasmian; and surely it is laboring the obvious to demonstrate at such length that Erasmus was familiar with the ethical and moral writings of antiquity.

Perhaps of equal value would have been a fuller discussion of the relation

of the treatise to its author's other works on the subject and to his whole program for reform of church and society through enlightened teaching of good, *i.e.,* classical literature and the "philosophy of Christ". The combination of these two factors forms an essential part of all his thinking. Despite his heavy reliance on ancient political theory, it must not be forgotten that Erasmus is here writing on the education of a *Christian* prince. He may use Plato's well-known dictum that in the perfect state the prince must be a philosopher or the philosophers seize the principate, but he adds, "To be a philosopher and to be a Christian is synonymous in fact. The only difference lies in the nomenclature" (p. 150). This statement, so characteristic of his concept of the nature of Christianity, goes far to explain many things about Erasmus which baffled theologians on both sides of the doctrinal strife of his own day. However, I may be stressing the general bearing of the work unduly. As Mr. Born rightly remarks (p. 42), it is not only an essay in ethics and morals but also a political treatise and one marked by a good deal of acute observation of practical affairs.

New York University. WALLACE K. FERGUSON.

Francesco Guicciardini and his European Reputation. By VINCENT LUCIANI. (New York: Karl Otto and Company. 1936. Pp. 437. $2.00.)

THE renewal of Guicciardini studies, gaining force in Italy especially during recent years, has become increasingly important. It now receives a notable American contribution. Dr. Luciani's book concerns essentially the *fortuna* of Guicciardini—the diffusion of the historian's influence across Europe as reflected in editions, translations, and an abundant critical literature.

A large portion of the works of Guicciardini became available only in the modern period, with the publication of the *Opere inedite* (1857-1867). The revival of interest has fed upon these and later volumes, so that his repute today is to a considerable degree the construction of modern scholarship. For an estimate of his historical position in criticism, this is an essential point; modifications of attitude and method are involved in the approach to his status before the ten volumes of unknown writings appeared. For during the three preceding centuries Guicciardini stood, to literate Europe, as author of a single great and substantial work, the *Storia d'Italia;* an imperfect series of maxims, the *Avvertimenti* (a partial text of the *Ricordi*), and a few letters were far less widely known. It is mainly to this long epoch of Guicciardini criticism that Dr. Luciani has addressed himself. He deals with a mass of disparate, difficult material, in which he has marked out main currents and examined, often with commendable results, some major complexities. His work is a fundamental one of classification, recapitulation, summation—a task not previously accomplished and highly necessary in the present state of Guicciardini studies.

On the basis of the *Storia*, the position which Guicciardini first appeared to occupy was more clearcut and more essentially historical than political; the critical comment, inevitably, was partisan. In turn its various phases, each motivated by a special interest, are analyzed by Dr. Luciani. After a discussion of editions, epitomes, biographies, and translations, he passes in review Florentine criticism and that of the Italian *Risorgimento*, then Venetian, Bolognese, miscellaneous Italian, French, and Spanish criticism. Criticism of Guicciardini for his treatment of certain individuals, clerical criticism, and the critical positions of the French skeptics, of Roscoe, and of Ranke, are given adequate space. These central chapters form the bulk of the volume and, with the valuable chapter on the history of the *Ricordi*, are its most important contribution. A very interesting chapter on the *Storia* as a historical source will be useful to historians and should also be provocative of further studies. The rehabilitation of Guicciardini since the publication of the *Opere inedite*, with the fluctuations of critical opinion, is sketched. The author has not treated directly or completely the very recent and eventful period of Guicciardini research; this is a chapter in the modern criticism which is yet to be written. Likewise, working within the limitations of a thesis, he was obliged to exclude some important aspects of the main subject.

A more comprehensive bibliography and index, as well as more exact reference and cross reference, would have been welcome. The volume is clearly printed, but there are a few typographical errors.

Harvard University. P. H. Harris.

L'esprit particulariste et la Révolution des Pays-Bas au XVI^e siècle, 1578-1584. Par Guy Malengreau, docteur en droit. [Université de Louvain.] (Louvain: Bibliothèque de l'Université. 1936. Pp. 222. 40 fr.)

It seems that the time has come at last for the Belgian and the Dutch peoples to study carefully the reasons why the two states which originated in the Low Countries just before the year 1584 continued a separate existence after the death of William the Silent. No more appropriate time could have been chosen for the publication of the admirable study by Dr. Malengreau than the present year, when the Belgian government has begun to waver in its policy of allignment with the French Republic. The natural policy for the rulers of Belgium and the Netherlands to follow has always been that of a more intimate union between the two little nations, but it has seldom been feasible to bring this union to its proper consummation. The spirit of particularism, which has been the curse of many nations in the past, severed the ancient ties that had bound the seventeen tiny principalities together until William of Orange in 1576 led the way to the formation of a new national state. This state would have taken its place among the great powers of Europe if it had not been for the career of Alexander Farnese, prince of Parma, and the untimely death of William.

Dr. Malengreau rightly emphasizes the remarkable fact that among the many hundreds of books, pamphlets, and articles devoted to the history of the revolt of the Netherlands against Spain there is not to be found a single work of any importance which presents an adequate treatment of that spirit of particularism which paralyzed the revolt in the southern provinces and thus facilitated the task of subjugation on the part of Farnese. This excellent narrative fills a gap which should not have remained unfilled for more than three hundred years.

Not a few textbooks dealing with modern European history still give the student in this country the impression that the religious feud between the inhabitants of the northern and the southern provinces caused the latter to submit to the rule of the Spanish monarch. The outstanding talents of Farnese are also given considerable emphasis, and they deserve such emphasis. However, the leading historians in the Netherlands and Belgium have clearly demonstrated that the old view of the separation of the north and the south is incorrect. The brief references to this question by those leading historians are now enlarged upon by Dr. Malengreau, who substantiates his account with numerous footnotes of high quality and a satisfactory bibliography, and presents it in a lucid style. Undoubtedly he owes much to the guiding hand of the great master, Professor L. Van der Essen, as he willingly testifies. There is much room for other works of a similar nature which will carry the thread of scientific study through the whole war up to the year 1648, when the city of Amsterdam dealt the final blow to the possibility of reunion.

University of Michigan. A. Hyma.

Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series of the Reign of Elizabeth, preserved in the Public Record Office. Volume XXII, *July-December, 1588.* Edited by Richard Bruce Wernham. (London: H. M. Stationery Office; New York: British Library of Information. 1936. Pp. liv, 536. $9.00.)

In the preceding volumes of this series the editors found it desirable to deal with correspondence relating to the Low Countries separately. This division has now been abandoned, although the affairs of the Low Countries still contribute by far the larger part of the material presented. As is to be expected, the incoming letters are much more numerous than the outgoing ones. Here and there drafts of dispatches going abroad are preserved but not in sufficient numbers to give any very coherent picture of Elizabeth's foreign policy. This is partly due, of course, to the fact that this calendar is limited to documents preserved in the Public Record Office. There is more to be had among the Cotton MSS. in the British Museum, but not a great deal more. The consequence is that this volume is rather more valuable for the light it throws upon the affairs of Elizabeth's neighbors than upon her own.

From every point of view it yields disappointingly little fresh information. The Spanish Armada came and went during the six months under consideration, but there is very little in these papers to mark its passage. The Duke of Guise was murdered. That momentous event is practically unnoticed. There is, indeed, only one dispatch from the English ambassador in France between the first of September and the end of the year. Of Dutch affairs, Parma's abortive siege of Bergen-op-Zoom and the mutiny of the English garrison at Ostend provide dramatic episodes, but most of what we get from these papers about the Low Countries has to do with petty quarrels between the Dutch and their English allies and between different factions among the Dutch themselves, or with money, or the lack of it, or with dishonesty and corruption in all branches of the English army. To those who cherish the conventional picture of the Dutch war for independence it is all rather disillusioning. And yet notwithstanding, somehow the fires kept on burning. The student of English military history will get from these papers much light upon army organization and army problems under Elizabeth, and the student of Elizabethan finance some inkling as to why the thrifty queen had need to be thrifty when all of those about her were so profligate.

The volume is carefully edited and well introduced. Mr. Wernham, the new editor, has maintained the high standard set for this series by his distinguished predecessors, Mr. Butler, Mrs. Lomas, and Mr. Hinds.

University of Pennsylvania. CONYERS READ.

Les sources de l'histoire de France: XVII^e siècle (1610-1715). Par LOUIS ANDRÉ, professeur à la Faculté des lettres de Lille. Tome VIII, *Histoire provinciale et locale, Essai sur les sources étrangères, Additions et corrections, Table générale.* [Manuels de bibliographie historique, III.] (Paris: Auguste Picard. 1935. Pp. xx, 412, 180. 50 fr.)

THIS volume marks the completion of Professor André's excellent bibliography of contemporary materials for seventeenth century France. It includes an unusually thorough index of the volumes (pp. 180). The author's discussions of the various types of material cited are especially illuminating. In chapter XIV he describes the varied and numerous provincial histories. Most of these, he claims, are not very helpful to the student of seventeenth century France. The Benedictine monks of Saint-Maur, for example, were especially interested in this kind of history. Unfortunately petty jealousies, incompetency, and lack of co-ordination diminished the scholarly qualities of their work. There were a small number of clerical and lay investigators who wrote rather useful histories, especially for those who are interested in political, military, and biographical information. But it was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that scholars tried to reconstruct the "complete life of a province".

It is practically impossible for a student interested in the study of provincial government to obtain much information from the various provincial histories. For instance, the activities of the provincial estates were ignored. Fortunately, the official records of these bodies are available in France. An earnest study of the *procès-verbaux* will prove that local government was not destroyed by the absolute monarchs of the seventeenth century.

According to Professor André, the numerous local, as well as provincial, histories possess little value. Most writers were not interested in the study of institutions, economic life, and social classes; they preferred to glorify the home town by describing brilliant exploits, sieges, battles, sensational episodes, and the deeds of "important" men. Nor did these "historians" consult documents to be found in the various archives; they based their works on the books written by their predecessors. About 1880 a valuable aid to the study of local history was discovered—*les livres de raisons ou de raison*. Originally these books of accounts were financial records kept by the heads of families. The information contained in them was brief and technical. Curiously, many manuscripts containing valuable political and social matrial were listed as books of accounts merely because they contained some "figures". While a large part of these documents is of little value, some of them throw much light on such economic matters as prices, wages, and crops. Of these books of accounts Professor André has analyzed 186—a small part of those in existence.

Foreign documents, as well as provincial histories, are discussed in chapter xv of this volume. Because of the importance of France in international affairs, these documents are very numerous. Professor André, therefore, has selected only those that contain significant references to France. He has also omitted works cited in Lavisse and Rambaud's *Histoire générale*, in the *Cambridge Modern History*, and in certain catalogues of the Bibliothèque nationale and the Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne.

Scholars interested in this period cannot but welcome Professor André's bibliography. It classifies and makes available as reliable material many documents that have hitherto been unknown. It prepares the way for a well-rounded investigation of this important period. In short, it is a credit to the author and to *Les sources de l'histoire de France* of which it is a part.

University of California. FRANKLIN C. PALM.

French Foreign Policy during the Administration of Cardinal Fleury, 1726-1743: A Study in Diplomacy and Commercial Development. By ARTHUR MCCANDLESS WILSON, Assistant Professor of Biography in Dartmouth College. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1936. Pp. ix, 433. $4.50.)

THE era from the Peace of Utrecht to the War of the Austrian Succession is one of the least studied in modern European history. It was a prosaic age,

and its leading statesmen, Walpole and Cardinal Fleury, aroused the enthusiasm neither of contemporaries nor of posterity. This is particularly true of Fleury, who at the age of seventy-three became the first minister of Louis XV and remained in office until his own death at ninety. His ministry increased the diplomatic prestige of France, secured the reversion of Lorraine, and witnessed a notable period of business prosperity.

Professor Wilson's volume, which is the first complete study of Fleury's foreign policy, is a work of thorough scholarship and a convincing reinterpretation of his career. "It is submitted that the Cardinal's misleading and disarming show of simplicity has tempted historians, as it tempted his contemporaries, to underestimate the skill with which he conducted French affairs" (p. viii). Fleury emerges as a cautious, frugal minister, secretive in method, contemptuous of public opinion, dominating in his relations with the ministers, but disinterested and completely devoted to the welfare of France and Louis XV.

Between 1726 and 1740 Fleury raised France from dependence on Great Britain to the leadership of the Continent. At first he continued the British connection but sought to strengthen his position by securing the friendship of Spain. This policy was so successful that France was able to stand alone safely in 1731 when Walpole deserted her and guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction, which Fleury opposed at that time. The cardinal turned the tables in 1733. His masterful handling of the Polish Succession issue isolated Great Britain and secured the duchy of Lorraine for King Stanislas, the father-in-law of Louis XV, with the reversion of the duchy to France on Stanislas's death. No longer fearful of the Habsburgs, Fleury proposed a *rapprochement* with Charles VI in 1735 and anticipated the policy of Kaunitz and the diplomatic revolution of 1756. France was so secure in 1740 that she was on the point of beginning a naval war against Great Britain. Unfortunately the sudden death of the emperor turned Fleury's attention once more to the Continent. In this crisis he failed to show his usual mastery of events and allowed Belle-Isle, the French representative in the empire, to dissuade him from his pacific policy. "The only grievous mistake of his administration lay precisely in the fact that he unwittingly surrendered to Belle-Isle a share in determining the policy of France" (p. 345).

Professor Wilson does not hesitate to dissent from older views or to express himself on controversial questions. He warmly defends Fleury against the charges that he neglected the navy and was indifferent to commerce. He ascribes France's participation in the War of the Polish Succession to the initiative of Fleury and denies that he was dragged into the struggle by Chauvelin, the secretary of state for foreign affairs. He attributes Chauvelin's dismissal in 1737 to his opposition to Fleury's desire for an alliance with Austria.

Approximately a fifth of the volume is devoted to financial and commer-

cial questions. Fleury set up a fixed monetary standard, and Marion has described the period between the Wars of the Polish and the Austrian Successions as the best in the financial history of the *ancien régime*. Contemporary English pamphlets reveal that the opposition to France after 1735 arose from fear that she was gaining Britain's trade. In the Levant France acquired supremacy because of the popularity of Languedoc woolen cloth. The French West Indies were so thriving that they won the sugar market in Spain, the Baltic, Germany, and the Netherlands, leaving only the home market for the British colonies. The fisheries, the fur trade, and the slave trade all flourished. Spain was France's best customer in Europe, and two thirds of the goods sent from Cadiz to the Indies were of French origin.

Professor Wilson's conclusions are based on manuscript material in Paris and London, the printed sources, and the best secondary authorities. His forty-six page critical bibliography is a model. The index and details of scholarship are admirable. The reviewer thus finds little to criticize. He would only question whether Fleury's policy was not more dependent on circumstance than the book indicates. The work is not easy reading, but for this the subject matter rather than the author is responsible.

Colgate University. E. Wilson Lyon.

The British Empire before the American Revolution: Provincial Characteristics and Sectional Tendencies in the Era preceding the American Crisis. By Lawrence Henry Gipson, Professor of History and Head of the Department of History and Government, Lehigh University. Volume I, *Great Britain and Ireland;* Volume II, *The Southern Plantations;* Volume III, *The Northern Plantations.* (Caldwell: Caxton Printers. 1936. Pp. xxix, 301; xxx, 383; xxxvi, 347. $15.00.)

The author has chosen to depict the political and social scene in the British Empire in the middle of the eighteenth century. He has quite properly included the island colonies along with the mainland group, and Ireland and Scotland are given consideration as well as the mother country. In general this broad panorama is drawn from well-established monographic conclusions, but it is supplemented in many instances by a fresh view of manuscript sources both in England and America—in some cases, for example, the local British commercial papers, seldom if ever consulted by colonial historians. These volumes reveal a broad understanding of the social implications of the material of which they treat. The author's analyses of the slave trade and the land controversies in New Jersey are unusually lucid and penetrating. He scores signally in his treatment of moratory legislation and currency depreciation. One could have wished for an amplification of his material dealing with the opposition of the large landowners in the Virginia council to modifying the act of 1749 for the relief of insolvent debtors (II, 61) or for more documentation establishing the relationship between the freemen and the

Rhode Island land bank in order to buttress the assertion of the author that the landowners in that colony opposed broad admissions to the freemanship on the ground that the fewer who were eligible to secure loans, the more financial subsistence each freeman applicant could obtain (III, 70). Advocates of the theory of the liberative influence of the frontier can chalk up a point when the author establishes, on the basis of a study of entails coming before the Virginia assembly, the fact that the fee tail was principally employed in the Tidewater and generally regarded with hostility by the Scots and Germans in the interior (II, 52). The essential difference between Gipson and Osgood is illustrated in their approach to social and economic materials. Thus Osgood gives a footnote to a particular stay law (*Eighteenth Century,* IV, 113, n.) to which Gipson allots seven pages (II, 57-63). In all fairness, however, it must be stated that in political, legal, and institutional matters Osgood's treatment of the same subjects will be found much fuller and more nearly definitive.

In certain matters of detail the reviewer finds himself in disagreement with the author. The use of contemporary writers to establish an authoritative picture of the English social scene in the mid-eighteenth century is definitely open to criticism. Far more penetrating observers of the law of England than Fenning might have been selected. Plumard de Dangeul's observations as a French visitor are in reality largely a paraphrase of an essay by Josiah Tucker. The comment of a foreign observer that "even people of the lowest rank can read and write" (I, 83) is gratuitous unless supported by statistical data, such as might be drawn from a tabulation of signatures and marks on legal documents. Thomas Alcock's generalization in 1752 as to the alarming extravagance of the English masses (I, 82) hardly gibes with Gilboy's statistics indicating a fairly stable real wage for craftsman and laborer in this period. A spending orgy on 1*s.* 2*d.*! The author seems to waver between the view that real wages declined in this period (I, 51, 52), clearly contrary to statistical evidence, and that real wages increased (I, 81). A legal historian might object to the tendency of the author, exemplified in his critique of the English legal system, to stress the law-in-books rather than the law-in-action. Admitting that at that time juries could "not be accused of overleniency" (I, 150), cognizance must be taken of the hostility of juries to excessive capital penalties as evidenced by the tendency to bring in verdicts for lesser offenses not punished capitally. Mr. Gipson takes the position that English laws, "in the main, were wholesome" (I, 147), and as examples he cites the punishment of theft capitally or by transportation and the death penalty for dissatisfied laborers who cut hop vines. Again, in his treatment of rioting, the author says: "To those responsible for the public welfare it seemed necessary to repress the savage tendencies of the people by means of rigorous law" (I, 75). After all, these "savage tendencies" were largely aroused by harsh coercion of the worker and criminal prosecutions for trade-

union activity, phases of an important labor movement which the author chooses to ignore. In dealing with price- and wage-fixing legislation the author affirms "that faith in the efficiency and desirability of such regulation was still strong" (I, 144), but it is only proper to point to laissez-faire tendencies in evidence everywhere in England at this time.

Despite a wealth of factual detail and penetrating analysis, the volumes leave the reader in mid-air in regard to much of the business treated, owing to the choice of the close of the third intercolonial war as the focus of attention. The Parson's Cause and the phillipics of Patrick Henry might be considered a more logical stopping point in a survey of debt repudiation laws than that selected by the author. The excellent treatment of the struggle for the muscovado markets stops long before the climax in 1764. In his analysis of the disallowance by the home government of numerous laws in the Virginia revision of 1748 the author leaves off without mentioning the important protest of the Virginia legislature to the king a few years later, urging reconsideration. As a result, the reader is left with a one-sided view of this controversy. But perhaps sufficient illustrations have been given to demonstrate that Osgood's selection of a terminal point for his narrative (the close of the fourth intercolonial war) is closer to historical realities than Gipson's.

The reviewer finds himself at the end of the third volume by no means convinced of the validity of the author's principal conclusions. A vein of special pleading runs through this study. At home, the English people "were living comfortably if not at their ease on account of the intelligent direction of their efforts" (I, 81). Conceding the restricted franchise and venal political practices, Mr. Gipson nonetheless asks whether Parliament "was not unresponsive to public opinion" (I, 142). But just what constituted public opinion in those days? The mainland colonists would have had good reason to feel that the lobbies of Bristol and London merchants or West Indian planters, when their interests were involved, seemed to be the public opinion of the moment to which Parliament inclined its ear. The break with the mother country is attributed by the author largely to intense localism rather than to the workings of mercantilism, which he conceives to be a system of protection comparable with modern trade regulation. Restrictions on colonial competition are defended on the ground of lack of mobility of labor and capital at home. Those who see the principal basis of the subsequent imperial crisis in the discrimination inherent in a decadent economic system which, from the point of view of national self-interest, reduced colonies to a subordinate position will not readily accept the author's conclusions.

The College of the City of New York. RICHARD B. MORRIS.

The Life of Charles James Fox. By EDWARD LASCELLES. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1936. Pp. viii, 345. $3.75.)

THIS biography follows the present vogue in omitting most of the ap-

paratus of scholarship. A well-selected bibliography is the only indication of the sources from which the author has derived information. A reading of the book, however, makes it amply clear to the informed that he has searched in proper places for the facts that he has used in telling a compact story of the life of one of England's most colorful political figures.

Disagreeing with Mr. Christopher Hobhouse, who published a biography on a similar scale a year ago, Mr. Lascelles allots two thirds of his space to the period after the American Revolution, when Fox restrained both the license and the ambitions of his earlier years and by the courageous assertion of his views in a time of war and panic won the support of younger relatives and friends who helped to project his reputation and influence into the nineteenth century. Since Fox deserves to live in history primarily as a political leader, his biography is substantially a history of English politics from the time when he disappointed his father's hopes by breaking with North in 1774 until his death in 1806 as one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state in the midst of the long war against Napoleon. Mr. Lascelles's book is chiefly a recounting of this political history from the point of view of the interests and activities of Fox. The author does not neglect the earlier years when his subject was in turn a brilliant school boy, a gambler, and a spendthrift, and his account of this phase of the life of Fox is in some respects an antidote to, though in part it is based upon, the well-known work of Sir George Otto Trevelyan. The peaceful later years of quiet enjoyment at St. Ann's Hill receive attention also. But the substance of the book deals with the political history of the last twenty-five years of the life of Fox. While the author here retells a story often told at length before, his briefer narrative is more than an abbreviation of the conventional account. The inclusion of footnotes and other more adequate citations of the evidence used would have added to the difficulties in writing the book and might have made it longer, but readers not intimately acquainted with these sources would thereby have had easier means of testing the author's interpretations. As it is, they have to take the word of those who are in some measure familiar with these sources that Mr. Lascelles has produced much the best life of Fox thus far published and on the whole a sound review of the political history of his time.

Duke University. W. T. Laprade.

La Révolution et l'Empire, 1789-1815. Par Louis Villat, professeur à la Faculté des lettres de l'Université de Toulouse. Avant-propos de S. Charléty. Tome I, *Les assemblées révolutionnaires, 1789-1799;* Tome II, *Napoléon, 1799-1815.* ["Clio": Introduction aux études historiques.] (Paris: Les Presses Universitaires. 1936. Pp. lxviii, 421; cviii, 357. 40 fr.; 50 fr.)

For many years British and American historians have led the way in

providing textbooks on the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Era. The scholars of Continental Europe, on the contrary, seem to have done comparatively little in this respect, their contributions, for the most part, having been written with such bias that they ought to be used only with caution. The appearance, therefore, of M. Louis Villat's work should be welcomed by all who are interested in good introductory analyses of this period.

Both these volumes are clear, readable, comprehensive narratives, based on a careful examination of the standard sources. Both are as critical as the limits of a textbook will permit. Both are surprisingly objective for the work of a Frenchman writing on a highly controversial period in the history of his own country. Their value might have been enhanced by the addition of maps, illustrations, a more attractive format, and a more extensive topical treatment of the items in the index; yet these omissions are of minor significance when compared with the skillful organization of materials and the excellent bibliographies.

In the introduction to Volume I, M. Villat clarifies, by means of definition and admonition, the nature and scope of the French Revolution and follows this with a competent analysis of the various conceptions of the Revolution as presented by the earliest writers, the middle group of polemical and literary scholars, and the latest group of scientific historians. Likewise, in the introduction to Volume II, he discusses the development of Napoleonic studies as influenced by the Napoleonic Legend, the Second Empire, and modern scientific historical research. Thus he provides an excellent prelude to the study of the period. A brief conclusion at the end of Volume II sums up the Napoleonic Era; it is regrettable that an epitome of the consequences of the Revolution does not appear at the end of Volume I.

In addition to providing an adequate introduction to the study of the French Revolution and Napoleon, M. Villat contributes the best bibliographies which it has been the pleasure of this reviewer to encounter in many a day. Immediately following the introduction to each volume there is an excellent general bibliography. Furthermore, at the end of every chapter there is a detailed bibliographical note, arranged to parallel the major divisions of the chapter.

As a textbook M. Villat's work is valuable; as a bibliographical aid it is invaluable. It is to be hoped that this excellent manual will be translated for the benefit of English-speaking students.

Western Reserve University. JOHN HALL STEWART.

The Lives of Talleyrand. By CRANE BRINTON. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1936. Pp. xi, 316. $3.00.)

THE author has succeeded in doing what he apparently intended, that is, to write a brilliant and provocative volume. It is provocative from the title to the final sentence. It is brilliant, for the author is one of those drivers

who never dim their headlights—that too is provocative. Since he tries to solve a problem eighty-five years long in the higher mathematics of history while driving at a sixty-mile pace, he is interesting to follow, but it is a strain on the intelligence and on the nerves. Reading this book is no placid summer afternoon excursion, but the journey amply rewards the heroic survivor. The pace is occasionally too fast for exact mathematics—here a wrong date, there an incorrect allusion, now a lapse in logic, then even dubious grammar.

The Lives of Talleyrand provides no life of Talleyrand. The mechanics and devices of biography, especially of the types currently popular, are scorned. Indeed, this mystifying book is not history or psychology, neither is it philosophy or essay, yet it lays all these under tribute. It is necessary to belong to the guild of historians to appreciate the real purport of this volume. Furthermore, one must have a taste for introspection and for detached contemplation of his chosen interest if he is to catch the spirit of the author and understand his deductions. Rarely is there to be found such an excellent—perhaps unconscious—revelation of the mind of a thoughtful historian struggling with one of his difficult problems in its many ramifications.

Superficially both the method pursued and the object sought appear simple. History has classified Talleyrand as a "bad" man. This historian will start with the working hypothesis that Talleyrand was a "good" man in order to discover whether the facts, by chance, might yield some new truth or justify the hypothesis or possibly show that Talleyrand behaved consistently with an accepted standard. The facts are, accordingly, surveyed for Talleyrand's career as priest, revolutionist, Bonapartist, Legitimist, and Orleanist—only five lives in eighty-five years. Surely the discovery of a common factor ought not to be impossible. Then, on consideration of political and moral standards, Talleyrand emerges as a *politique,* something quite different from a politician, and as a *moraliste,* something other than a moralist. Now, if it should appear that there was an accredited group who upheld the same principles that Talleyrand exemplified as a *politique* and a *moraliste,* and if that group were one with which Talleyrand could have been associated historically, the problem would be solved satisfactorily. Such a group was the first generation of *philosophes,* the men of the Enlightenment, who flourished in Talleyrand's youth. Thus, Talleyrand can reasonably be pronounced a "good" man! Times and circumstances changed, but Talleyrand remained true to principles imbibed in his youth.

In reaching this illuminating conclusion the facts have possibly been oversimplified. The resultant answer certainly accords with no generally accepted standards of personal morality; it does, however, suggest that Talleyrand's career was conceivably that of a rational human being. Another solution, parallel to Professor Brinton's, might be offered to strengthen his main conclusion: namely, that Talleyrand found, in each critical situation of his political career, the proper means by which a gentleman might creditably

extricate himself—and France. Here one approaches Talleyrand's own suggestion of the key to his career.

Wesleyan University. GEORGE MATTHEW DUTCHER.

The Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden, 1765-1838. Edited by JOHN RAWSON ELDER, Professor of History, University of Otago. (Dunedin: Coulls Somerville Wilkie. 1932. Pp. 580. 42*s*.)

Marsden's Lieutenants. By JOHN RAWSON ELDER. (Dunedin: A. H. and A. W. Reed. 1934. Pp. 280. 25*s*.)

Marsden and the Missions: Prelude to Waitangi. By ERIC RAMSDEN, President of the Anthropological Society of New South Wales. With an Introduction by Peter H. Buck. (*Ibid*. 1936. Pp. xix, 295. 12*s*. 6*d*.)

ALTHOUGH his name is intimately and indissolubly associated with missionary work in the South Seas and, in a special way, with that among the Maori of New Zealand, the Reverend Samuel Marsden was not himself a missionary. He was hardly of the stuff of which missionaries proper are made. Had he been, he could not have failed to have sympathy for the Australian blacks, who were at his very door (he was chaplain of the penal settlement in New South Wales) and who were not only benighted but in grave danger of contamination because of close proximity to the convicts. The blacks Marsden rejected out of hand as hopeless, declaring them, without any attempt at their improvement, to be utterly destitute of a capacity for civilization.

But the story of that mistaken judgment is not the burden of any one of the three publications listed above. The exclusive purpose for which they were designed was to throw light upon the history of New Zealand at the point where it ceased to be purely Polynesian and became Anglo-Saxon as well.

Marsden's interest in New Zealand arose from small beginnings and was personal with respect to the Maori from the start. It culminated in 1807 when, on a visit home, he persuaded the Church Missionary Society to sponsor their Christianization. Though an Anglican, Marsden had been, since 1801, the agent of the London Missionary Society in the South Pacific; but he was desirous that men of his own denomination should assume this seemingly greater trust. The C. M. S. rose to the occasion and authorized him to establish the mission he advocated. There was inevitable delay, and it was not until 1814 that the work was actually begun. It began under Marsden's personal direction at the Bay of Islands.

Marsden made six subsequent visits to Maoriland, the seventh and last in 1837, the year preceding his own death, and the journals, in which he recorded his experiences, form the bulk, the entirety almost, of the source materials so admirably edited by Professor Elder in the first of his two books. Treasured for so long among the archives of the C. M. S. in Salisbury Square, they finally became a part of the splendid collection that Dr. Thomas Morland

Hocken of Dunedin accumulated and bequeathed to the Otago University Museum.

Marsden selected for his original mission three craftsmen, religiously inclined men, Hall, King, and Kendall, his "lieutenants" the editor has denominated them and not inaptly. Their diaries and correspondence form the content of the second volume, the complement of the first. Space precludes a detailed description of either. It must suffice to say that the editorial work is of the finest, skillful, painstaking, scholarly in an eminent degree, with just enough of annotation to be elucidative. Each volume can boast several maps, a series of well-chosen illustrations contemporary in character, and a reasonably complete index, while that devoted to Marsden's own journals has, in addition, a lengthy bibliography, which, in the main, covers the ground of its companion volume also.

The third book, Mr. Ramsden's, is supplementary to the others and similarly meritorious. It carries on the Marsden story, enlarging upon certain phases of the Anglican work and introducing the Wesleyan. It also supplies one distinctive feature, a social and political background that is a contribution most welcome, interesting, and valuable. The source of this new knowledge comprises, in particular, the hitherto unused Busby Family Papers. Other primary material, scarcely less noteworthy, especially that associated with the name of George Hawke and Rowland Hassall, respectively, receives full recognition in the comprehensive bibliography as well as in the text. The Mitchell Library of Sydney is the repository of much of it.

James Busby, the first British Resident in New Zealand, had a hard and difficult task to perform. His post was obviously no sinecure. From Sir Richard Bourke, governor of New South Wales, whose subordinate he was, he received hindrance rather than help, owing largely to the fact that he was the direct appointee of the colonial office. His position was an almost tragically anomolous one. He had enormous responsibilities and virtually no executive authority. The marvel is that he did so well under the circumstances and, in spite of everything, maintained his dignity.

Taken separately or in combination these three books are greatly worth while, for they have to do with what Professor Buck calls, in his introduction to the third, "the history of an organized attack on a native social system". That time has justified the attack is beside the point.

Aberdeen, Washington. ANNIE HELOISE ABEL-HENDERSON.

The Spanish Marriages, 1841-1846: A Study of the Influence of Dynastic Ambition upon Foreign Policy. By E. JONES PARRY, Lecturer in Colonial History, University College of Wales. [London School of Economics and Political Science.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1936. Pp. xx, 349. $8.50.)

IN many ways this book would constitute an excellent introduction to

the study of the diplomatic history of mid-nineteenth century Europe. For its author, having resolved to investigate and elucidate some of the most complicated, devious, and sordid diplomatic maneuvering of this or any other period, has accomplished his task with admirable insight, technique, detachment, and conscientiousness. And he has once more demonstrated the fact that diplomatic history should ordinarily be written only by those who can make use of the archives of two or more countries, and of private correspondence as well as of official documents. Bringing together a mass of material from the British Museum, the Public Record Office, Windsor Castle, the French national archives, and the Guizot Papers at Val Richer, he has examined every move of Guizot, Aberdeen, Queen Cristina, Bulwer, Bresson, and several less notable figures in the tedious game they played from 1841 to 1846. And there is a chapter on the *dénouement* which followed Palmerston's return to Downing Street.

Excellent as it is, this study displays the limitations frequently found in monographs designed for specialists. Dr. Parry has confined himself very rigidly to his subject. He has little to say about the marriage negotiations prior to 1841, the hostility between the British and French governments when Peel and Aberdeen came into power, the various issues which arose between them during these five years, the relations between party politics and foreign policy in both countries, and the effects produced in England by the celebration of the marriages. Such delimitation of the subject is perfectly proper, but it must constantly be kept in mind. And there are cases in which it is rather unfortunate. Thus, one finds no indication that Aberdeen's policy toward France was in the end severely criticized by men like Clarendon, who had at first supported him warmly (Fagan, *Panizzi*, I, 205-206); or that Guizot's conduct in the summer of 1846 aroused the deepest resentment and disgust in some of the most ardent supporters of the entente, both Conservative and Whig. These reactions, quite apart from whatever justification they may have had, were certainly significant. Again, one wonders whether Dr. Parry did not occasionally confine himself too much to his unpublished documents. For example, the Princess Lieven's letter to Barante on the meeting at Eu in 1843 (printed in Vol. VII of his *Souvenirs*) is highly suggestive to say the least. And, in particular, one would be glad to have confirmation of some of the statements of men as temperamental as Bresson and Bulwer.

But the main thing is that, through this excellent study, we are now in possession of almost all that can be learned concerning negotiations for the marriages and can make reassessments on the basis of much fresh knowledge. So disingenuous were certain of the actors that motives are still sometimes obscure and differing judgments possible, but the facts may be regarded as practically settled. In particular, any suspicion that Guizot shaped his course in view of his belief in Cadiz's impotence has become utterly untenable. But the French statesman's reputation is not otherwise enhanced. For he

"readily exploited" Aberdeen's "honesty and trust", to pursue a cold-blooded, tricky, and nationally selfish policy. Dr. Parry, effectively quoting Guizot's own pronouncement that a man should keep to private life unless he is willing to eschew "saintliness" and accept "certain necessities, certain dark passages" and "imperfections", offers his own estimate: "Guizot, no less than Bismarck and Cavour, was in the last resort a realist, who, like them, permitted his code of private morality to govern his conduct of public affairs only when it did not interfere with success in politics or diplomacy." In Aberdeen we see, of course, an edifying contrast, but it seems impossible to feel any great admiration for his diplomacy. His concessions to French insistence that Isabella's choice of a husband should be narrowed down to the small group of excessively undesirable Bourbon candidates will be viewed by some at least as evidence of his willingness to pay too high a price (largely at others' cost) for the maintenance of the entente. And, even if one has no criticism to make upon these grounds, one finds evidences of weakness. Dr. Parry cannot show us how to reconcile Aberdeen's distrust of the French government with his confidence in Guizot and admits that his "bemused self-complacency", his yielding and waiting attitude, were at least partly responsible for his being drawn into a position of "appalling weakness". And in pointing out that Aberdeen's honesty served for the time being as a check upon Guizot's unscrupulousness, he reminds us that "by relying too exclusively upon his own peculiar qualities, Aberdeen, like Castlereagh, had made it almost impossible for a successor to continue his policy".

Wesleyan University. HERBERT C. F. BELL.

Russland und Frankreich vom Ausgang des Krimkrieges bis zum italienischen Krieg, 1856-1859. Von Dr. ERNST SCHÜLE. [Osteuropäische Forschungen.] (Berlin: Ost-Europa. 1935. Pp. ix, 167. 6.50 M.)

Die petersburger Mission Bismarcks, 1859-1862: Russland und Europa zu Beginn der Regierung Alexander II. Von Professor Baron BORIS NOLDE. Translated by Dr. Bernhard Schulze. (Leipzig: Rudolf Lamm. 1936. Pp. viii, 214. 7.50 M.)

THESE two monographs, treating of the mid-nineteenth century revolution of alliances that substituted a Franco-Russian entente for the Crimean War grouping, are of unequal value. Dr. Schüle has used the Paris archives and has drawn upon the Gorchakov Papers indirectly through the work of L. Feigin, published in 1924. Baron Nolde, who wrote his book in Russian and published it in Prague in 1924, used the printed sources then available, which did not include the *Auswärtige Politik Preussens.* The retranslations of German documents in this translation from his Russian text have not been read back to the originals.

Both writers catch the keynote of the diplomatic realignment: that the

politics of legitimist principles was giving way to a politics based on interest calculations and power. But they weigh differently the personal and social forces that were at work in the change. Schüle sees, correctly, that Gorchakov and Napoleon (aided by Morny) were the men who laid out the "new course" of a Franco-Russian alignment, that there was an important economic financial aspect to the understanding, and that Prussian politics was a matter of secondary consequence to the Russian court. Baron Nolde analyzes with great acumen the network of influences, dynastic and diplomatic, that surrounded the Russian court and strives also to add laurels to Bismarck's reputation by overestimating (in the opinion of the reviewer) the importance of Prussian policy in St. Petersburg and of Bismarck in Prussian policy.

Schüle contributes to our knowledge of the period an analysis of successful concession hunting in Russia by Morny and the Credit Mobilier. He shows that financial and economic co-operation rose and fell with political alignment. He also brings together a detailed story of the steps in the negotiation of the Franco-Russian treaty of March 3, 1859. Napoleon wanted a treaty that would destroy Austria as a great power; Gorchakov really wanted no more than the revision of the Black Sea clauses of the Treaty of Paris and a chance to play Balkan politics again. It was not Russian weakness after the Crimean War, but the fact that Russia became a revisionist power, that explains the new alignment, its scope and its limitations. According to Schüle, Gorchakov told the French ambassador, Montebello, that during the Italian war crisis he warned Prussia that if she attacked France, Russia would take a hand on the French side. Neither Nolde nor the documents in the *Auswärtige Politik Preussens* confirm this story.

The Nolde monograph builds up Bismarck's reputation for acumen but tears down his reputation for loyalty to his own chief. The habit of speaking out of line with his instructions and of coloring his dispatches to help to carry out his personal views of policy was so well developed that the prince regent was about to recall him, or at least supplement his mission by sending Count Munster as a personal agent for the czar. Every student of politics must bear witness to the keenness with which Bismarck appraised the political situation of Europe, but for the period of his Russian mission this is of biographical importance only. His dispatches foreshadowed the policies he would adopt in 1862, but they were not decisive at the time, except as they helped to nullify a positive Prussian policy of any kind.

Western Reserve University. ROBERT C. BINKLEY.

Statsraadets Forhandlinger om Danmarks Udenrigspolitik, 1863-1879. Udgivet af AAGE FRIIS. [Uddrag af Statsraadsprotokollerne. Paa Udenrigsministeriets Foranledning og paa Carlsbergfondets Bekostning.] (Copenhagen: Levin and Munksgaard. 1936. Pp. 447. 14 Kr.)

Anteckningar rörande Förhållandet mellan Sverige och Danmark, 1863-1864. Af Henning Hamilton. Utgivna på Carlsbergfondets Bekostnad av Aage Friis och Einar Hedin. (*Ibid.* Pp. xxxiv, 300. 8 Kr.)

Since 1921 Professor Friis has published three volumes of documents on the North Schleswig question from 1864 to the end of 1877. He has now been able to supplement this material with the relevant portions of the protocols of the Danish council of state. Over two thirds of his volume is taken up with the meetings from March 30, 1863, when the "March Patent" was approved, which regulated the position of Holstein in the Danish monarchy and served as the pretext for the renewed activity of the German Confederation in the Schleswig-Holstein question, to the end of 1864, when the Treaty of Vienna was completed which transferred Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg to the rulers of Austria and Prussia. Many of these protocols were used by Neergaard in his two volume history of Denmark from 1848 to 1866 (*Under Junigrundloven*, 1890, 1916) so that the main lines of Danish policy are well known. The full texts enable us to follow in detail the discussions in council and the formulation of policy. The views of the various ministers and of the king are of particular interest at the time when decisions of great importance had to be taken in December, 1863, on the maintenance of the constitution to which Austria and Prussia objected, on the instructions to the Danish representatives at the London Conference, and on the possibility of continuing the war after the Prussian capture of the island of Alsen. The rest of the material is concerned chiefly with the attitude of Denmark in 1866 and 1870, the negotiations for the fulfillment of article v of the Treaty of Prague, and the policy to be adopted when the abrogation of that article was made public in 1879.

As Swedish minister at Copenhagen from 1861 to 1864, Hamilton played an important part in the negotiations for a Swedish-Danish alliance. His notes, written in part while he was still at the Danish capital, were intended as a contribution to the history of his time and as a defense of his own activity. A part was used by Professor Clason in an article in the Swedish *Historisk Tidsskrift* for 1914, and a few of the included documents have been printed elsewhere. Hamilton's criticism of the policy of Sweden is, on the whole, justified. He felt bitterly the vacillation of Manderström, the foreign minister, which kept both himself and the Danish ministry uncertain as to the intentions of the Swedish government. His conversation with King Charles XV at Stockholm in February, 1864 (p. 201), hitherto unknown, throws new light on the unreliability of that monarch.

On the other hand, there is reason to believe that Hamilton has not been completely frank about his own actions. As the editors point out, he says nothing about his discussion with Danish ministers in the early months of 1863 on the Scandinavian union project. In the critical days of December,

1863, he implies that he kept strictly within the limits of his instructions. Yet Sir Augustus Paget, the British minister, reported in circumstantial detail that on December 12 Hamilton told him that he was about to communicate for the second time to the Danish president of the council an extract from a dispatch of the preceding October in which Manderström had written that even without a formal alliance Sweden would come to the aid of Denmark (L. D. Steefel, *The Schleswig-Holstein Question*, pp. 147-150). There is, to be sure, no trace of this second communication either in Hamilton's notes or in the protocols of the Danish council. But if Hamilton did not actually make it, why should he have said that he was going to do so? If he did make it, it must have encouraged the Danes to hope, and it can be understood why he did not record it. We should like to have Professor Friis's opinion on this problem.

The University of Minnesota. LAWRENCE D. STEEFEL.

L'alliance franco-russe: Les origines du système diplomatique d'avantguerre. Par Baron BORIS NOLDE. [Institut d'études slaves de l'Université de Paris.] (Paris: Librairie Droz. 1936. Pp. 700. 50 fr.)

THIS volume is rather singularly ill described by its title. The reader naturally expects a detailed monographic study of the Franco-Russian negotiations in the early eighteen-nineties. Such a study is indeed to be found in the book but only by the reader who follows the narrative nearly to the end. A far more accurate title would be "A General Diplomatic History of continental Europe in the Quarter Century following the Franco-Prussian War". There are four parts to the study: Part I is a survey, mainly from the standpoint of France and especially of the internal difficulties of the young republic, of the Bismarck era down to 1885; Part II covers the same period but with special reference to Russian policy and the Near Eastern question; Part III is a study of the crisis of 1886-1887; Part IV covers the years 1888 to 1893 and deals particularly with the gradual alienation of Russia and Germany and the consequent approach of Russia and France.

The value of the book for the specialist in recent diplomatic history lies almost wholly in its firsthand use of Russian sources, including some unpublished documents from the personal papers of Giers, Baron Staal, and Alexander Nelidow (p. 6). There is no general bibliography, a very serious lack in a study of this type, but footnote references to authorities show an acquaintance with the "blue books" of the various powers and with monographic studies in French, German, Russian, and English. American works, especially those of Langer and Carroll, are cited several times. The general tone is quite objective and impartial, and the author is not the victim of any favorite theory of his own invention. Indeed a certain lack of originality, an orthodox "correctness" of opinion, will disappoint those who are on the alert

for revelations of hitherto unsuspected diplomatic secrets. Nonetheless it is interesting to review the history of bygone diplomatic controversies and incidents with so judicious a guide.

Baron Nolde regards French diplomacy after 1871 as motivated chiefly by the desire to escape from the isolation to which the diplomatic blunders of Napoleon III had condemned his country. At first these efforts met little but failure. The attempt to magnify the war scare of 1875 into an anti-German entente between France and Russia was ridiculous; in reality France did not profit at all from this incident (pp. 56-57). The liberal republicans, such as Gambetta, though inexperienced in diplomacy, learned quickly and on the whole did better than their conservative and royalistic predecessors. But they preferred a British to a Russian alliance, and the Egyptian crisis destroyed any possibility of an understanding in that direction. Russian foreign policy was more complex than French, for it involved questions of the Near East and of the Far East; it was not pinned down by a single feud with Germany but could choose among rival alliances. This freedom of action and breadth of interest led, however, to serious blunders. Often the Russian government neglected immediate interests to pursue mirages in the distance. "Alexander I sent troops to the other end of Europe to restore the Bourbons. . . . Nicholas I struggled to safeguard the interests of the Austrian Emperor. . . . The Soviets waste their resources in encouraging communist movements in South American countries whose very names are unknown to the great majority of Russians" (p. 167). Slavophil sentiment played a large part in Russia's war with Turkey and exaggerated her natural disappointment over the Berlin Congress. Yet in spite of misgivings and reluctance on the part of some Russian statesmen, the quarrel with Germany arising from the congress was glossed over, and the League of the Three Emperors was renewed. Even in the act of renewing it, however, Giers was looking forward to an eventual closer understanding with France (p. 318) as a possible alternative policy for Russia.

The crisis of 1886-1887 in the Near East had serious repercussions in Western Europe. "At no moment since the Treaty of Frankfort had the French government felt itself so directly menaced by German aggression" (p. 482). French public opinion turned more and more to a Russian alliance, and though Bismarck prevented the French government from doing anything in a diplomatic way to attach Russia to the French cause, he overlooked the importance of the new financial ties between the two countries (p. 502). Even after the lapse of the Reinsurance treaty had set Russia free to make definite alliance with France, Clemenceau and other radicals opposed the plan and favored renewed attempts at an understanding with Britain (p. 612). At last, however, Ribot on the part of France and Giers for Russia ("the man who had seemed the most timid, the most conservative, of all those on whom events depended", p. 616) decided to proceed with definite negotia-

tions. Wittily the author compares Czar Alexander III patiently listening to the Marseillaise with Henry IV accepting the Catholic Mass to win Paris! Russia still hesitated long over the terms of the military convention, finally coming to an agreement, in Baron Nolde's opinion, because of the lessening of tension with Great Britain and increased distrust as to the intentions of Germany (pp. 690-692).

University of Michigan. PRESTON SLOSSON.

A Diplomatic History of the Balkan Crisis of 1875-1878: The First Year. By DAVID HARRIS. [Hoover War Library Publications.] (Stanford University: University Press. 1936. Pp. viii, 474. $4.00.)

"EVEN though the European concert might not succeed, everything else must fail". That was Gladstone's initial challenge to the Eastern policy of her majesty's government, expressed in parliament as July became August in 1876. The Balkan crisis of 1875-1878 had just swung into its second year; responsible ministers, chancellors, and diplomatists had already well-nigh exhausted themselves. Their efforts to attain a "united voice" had netted nothing more than a "din of discords" (p. 347). For that deplorable lack of harmony, intimated the ex-premier, the British cabinet had been primarily responsible. It had throughout sulkily refused to play its proper part of leader and, finally, had abandoned the concert.

Professor Harris is in evident agreement with Gladstone's low estimate of British ministers. Lord Derby is tagged with contemporary labels: a "man of apathy" (p. 192) afflicted with a "constitutional inability to do anything" (p. 308). Once again the British premier becomes the *bête noire*. Disraeli, "that unique and most exotic flower produced in the ancient garden of British statesmanship" (p. 19), displayed a "total lack of any sense of reality" and, moreover, was not "honest" when he rejected the Berlin memorandum (pp. 307-308). In the subsequent negotiations of June he "toyed with the Russians", then terminated all discussion "by a letter of patent malice, brazen lies, and studied insult" (p. 367). Continental statesmen fare much better. Only milder allusions to their "fabrications" and "inconsistencies" are recalled.

Of necessity Austria and Russia figure prominently in the narrative. Both followed "prestige" policies, striving to have Balkan Slavs look only to Vienna or only to St. Petersburg; consequently when anything positive was attempted their "interests" collided. A lucid account is given of the long diplomatic duel between Andrássy and Gorchakov, in which Czar Alexander and Ignatiev were frequently involved. Throughout, Count Andrássy deluded himself with the belief that activity and diplomatic triumphs signified leadership. The "amiable" Bismarck was concerned solely with promoting Austro-Russian unity lest the Three Emperors' League collapse. Thus, whenever Andrássy and Gorchakov managed to agree,

Bismarck agreed with them. Dangling morsels of Ottoman territory before the eyes of his covetous minister-colleagues had already become the rather dangerous pastime of the tempter of Biarritz. France and Italy preferred postponement of partition until such a time as they would be in a better position to share more equally in the division of the "sick man's" inheritance.

It is difficult to appraise the total importance of a study bearing solely on the incidents and diplomacy of "The First Year" of a nineteenth century Balkan crisis. The author presents it as a "case history". As such, its details illustrate clearly the general morality of European diplomacy of the period. A reader can but emerge with a vague feeling of lessened admiration for the "giants" of the seventies. The book is well written, and its material is carefully organized. Professor Harris patiently buttressed the contents of his volume with footnotes; his many characters, obscure as well as leading, are entertainingly identified, and useful summaries conclude his chapters.

New York University. WALTER G. WIRTHWEIN.

Elizabeth, Empress of Austria. By Count EGON CORTI. Translated by Catherine Alison Phillips. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1936. Pp. xii, 518. $4.00.)

IN this translation of the life of the Empress Elizabeth we have an English version of the most popular work of Count Corti. Listed among the best sellers, it is not only interesting and popular but authoritative in the Strachey sense. A good stylist and an experienced historical biographer, the author enjoyed the unique advantage of being the first to have access to the private archives of the Habsburgs as well as to other public and private collections. Of especial importance among the new materials is the correspondence of the empress and her husband, Francis Joseph; the voluminous diary of her favorite daughter, the Archduchess Valerie; and the journal of her lady-in-waiting, the Countess Festetics, who was closely associated with the empress for twenty-seven years.

Tragedy dogged the steps of the Habsburgs in domestic and public life from the day Francis Joseph, a youth of eighteen, ascended the throne amid the revolutions of 1848 to his death at the age of eighty-six in the second year of the World War. In this fateful imperial drama the role of the empress is in many ways the most tragic. Leaving a carefree life in Bavaria at the age of sixteen for "Marriage, Homesickness, and Gold Fetters", she took on the part of empress at the conventional Vienna court, dominated by a masterful and designing mother-in-law, the Archduchess Sophie. Charming and beautiful but totally inexperienced and of a highly sensitive nature, she became resentful, self-centered, and restless. "Paradise itself", she once exclaimed to Valerie, "would become a hell" if she were told she had to stay there forever. The fact that she took relatively little interest in politics, save for her championship of the Magyars and her friend Andrassy, doubt-

less contributed toward her failure to recognize the responsibilities of her high position.

In his attempt to reveal the undisciplined mind and life of the empress the author naturally stressed personal and human motives, dissipating much of the legendary atmosphere surrounding her, even if the general conception of her character is not radically changed. Heredity and environment—the fire that consumed the mad king of Bavaria in her blood, and the thwarted idealism of youth, crushed by the "wall of gloom" built up about her in her early years as mother and empress—are revealed in true Freudian fashion as the determining forces in her life. The belief so generally held, that Francis Joseph through his failure to understand and his matter-of-fact attitude contributed much to the tragedy, is not at all in accord with Corti's view. Nevertheless there will be many who will not be convinced by his evidence and continue to ask why history has so persistently misunderstood this paragon of virtue with "nothing to hide from his good wife". Was the "understanding" Frau Schratt, "Die Freundin", only a platonic confidante of his majesty after all? The belief of many that Archduke Rudolph discovered a half-sister in Marie Vetsera, his beautiful young partner in death, is passed over in silence. On the other hand, the supposed suicide pact is practically accepted on the basis of probability. Certainly if the Habsburg prestige has suffered in the popular mind because of the supposed martyrdom of the empress, the scales are here weighted on the other side. Possibly the unusual privileges accorded the author of searching the imperial archives carried with it obligations and inhibitions.

In general, the author adheres closely to the sources, at time too closely, quoting at length on inconsequential matters at the expense of others clearly more important in the life of the empress, thus giving the impression of not having fully mastered his material. The account of the imperial wedding and the days immediately following is given in great detail, but the year is not divulged till it appears incidentally in connection with a poem of "regret" by the empress, "written on May 8, 1854, only a fortnight after the wedding" (p. 51). The translation is free and very successful in catching both the thought and the spirit of the original. Occasional deviations occur. The statement, "For years past . . . Maximillian had cherished the idea of founding an empire in Mexico" (p. 114), is much stronger than it is in the German, where Maximillian's ambition is mentioned incidentally. Even in this milder form it is stronger than is warranted by the more detailed account in the author's *Maximillian and Charlotte in Mexico*. The illustrations are excellent and chosen with discrimination. Since many of them had not been published before, it is a pity that so many—more than half—have been omitted from the English edition. In the bibliography of secondary works more than a score of items are left without date of publication, an omission also found in the original.

The force of legend is very strong in history, and although this biography is a challenge to the statement of Countess Fürstenberg that Elizabeth "will live on in legend, not in history", it still leaves many questions about her life and enigmatic personality unanswered.

The University of Pennsylvania. WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH.

French Policy and Developments in Indochina. By THOMAS E. ENNIS. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1936. Pp. ix, 230. $3.00.)

STUDIES of recent date in English on Indo-China are not numerous, though there are several in French; hence this book is welcome as a serious historical and social survey of French colonial activity in that country. There are three introductory chapters on the French penetration and occupation, based on standard French authorities, which are adequate though not exhaustive. Two chapters on administration develop the historical trend of ideas with regard to colonial government, *i.e.*, the slow growth of the "association" idea and the supposed contrast between that policy and the earlier one of "assimilation". The latter, closely allied to the British idea of "direct", and the former, much like "indirect" rule, are in French hands at opposite poles of administrative procedure, association being exalted as the modern, intelligent, and sane way of admitting natives to participation in economic and administrative management. Nevertheless, they both work out to the same practical result of buttressing French domination and economic advantage—in spite of the fact that economic exploitation must be the result of native labor; that advance in culture must be based on Annamite development; that the education of the common people must be accomplished through use of the native languages even when carried on by Catholic missionaries, who are expected to uproot Confucianism and spirit-worship by inculcation of the precepts of Christianity. It is obvious that policy is confused, that the end sought is contradictory to the agency used, and that dependence upon the ministrations of the church is only one of the self-negating influences from which French colonialism here suffers. The negative quality of the colonial effort Ennis attributes to an inherent incompatibility of fratriarchal (industrial) and patriarchal societies, pointing out that they have never been happily amalgamated. The anomalies mentioned above might, however, conceivably work out to the same ultimate nullity even if conqueror and conquered had evolved identical instead of opposite social organizations. Perhaps, after all, we have merely one more proof of the "great illusion" of modern imperialism.

The most recent and decisive forward step in administration, supported by Resident Pasquier just before his lamentable death, was the return of the power in large measure to the Annamite throne, effected by revolution of mild character. It resulted in improved administration, adoption of Western court procedure, native intervention in educational policy, and more equitable

distribution of responsibility. But even this trembling concession did not divert or retard the logic of events, for "association can hardly be freed from assimilation. . . . The policy of assimilation means native unrest. . . . acceptance of association spells eventually independence" (p. 101). Yet Ennis thinks that the French believe that Indo-China may become the most perfect colony on earth, the cry "Indo-China for the Indo-Chinese" may be "diverted into an entente between East and West" (p. 99). But surely experienced French imperialists are not quite so naïve; indeed, there are many frank indications in their writings that they look forward apprehensively to the loss of this dependency, and there have not been lacking those who have openly advocated withdrawal from Asia and concentration upon North and West Africa. Not even co-operation with Japan on a community of interest basis can provide escape from the dilemma.

Ennis's study of economic aspects and of French social work is useful for the general reader, although it is apparently based rather upon French authorities than upon actual observation. It is a challenge to the opinion offered (*Far Eastern Survey*, Jan. 20, 1937) that "Indo-China must be considered the most successful French overseas effort and one of the most successful of all colonial experiments". Ennis, it would appear, has made a more substantial study, let us say, than Robequain (*L'Indochine française*, 1935), who points out the advantages of industrial development and the misapplication of an exclusive tariff as poles of French administrative wisdom and folly. Yet there is still need for a comprehensive economic survey of accomplishments and demands and of avenues of approach to more healthful social interaction. Ennis has naturally used no native authorities; his bibliography is long and lists the standard works, with an imposing array of periodical materials, which in most cases need dating and evaluating.

University of California. HERBERT INGRAM PRIESTLEY.

Intervention, Civil War, and Communism in Russia, April-December, 1918: Documents and Materials. By JAMES BUNYAN. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1936. Pp. xv, 593. $4.50.)

THE period covered by this book is one of great importance in the history of Soviet Russia. In these fateful months the Bolsheviks consolidated the power gained through the November Revolution. With the suppression of the fantastically inefficient rebellion of the Socialist-Revolutionists of the Left, government by one party only was firmly established and became the monopoly of Lenin's followers. Civil war, intensified by the intervention of the great powers, forged on its grim anvil the elements of the foreign as well as the domestic policy of Soviet Russia for years to come.

The Austro-German intervention following the Brest-Litovsk Treaty and the Allied intervention, together with the Czechoslovak clash with the Bolsheviks, are the subject matter of the opening chapters. The anti-

Bolshevik movement in the various parts of Russia and the creation of the Red Army and of the dread instrument of proletarian terror, the Cheka, are dealt with in chapters IV to VI. The rest of the volume is devoted to the reconstruction of industrial and rural life, to the constitution, and to the upbuilding of Soviet education along new lines.

James Bunyan is no novice in the field of recent Russian history. His previous volume (with H. H. Fisher, *The Bolshevik Revolution,* 1934) was deservedly well received by English-speaking students of Russian history. In his preface to that volume Professor Fisher made a reference to the general dilemma confronting the publishers of selections of documents, particularly those dealing with such controversial subjects as the Soviet Revolution. Apparently the inherent difficulties confronting the editors of such publications are quite clear to him. A selection of documents and materials such as the one under review may not deliberately tend to uphold "any definite theory of history in general or of the Bolshevik revolution in particular". It is obvious, however, that it is exceedingly difficult, if not altogether impossible, to make the selection of materials on a purely objective basis. Some pattern in the choice of documents must of necessity be adopted. Bearing these limitations in mind, Bunyan's volume must be considered a conscientious and an intelligent effort to present a documentary picture of the intricate network of events and tendencies of the period.

Bunyan brings out clearly several little-known historical facts, for instance, the important part played in the upholding of the Bolshevik power in its early days by the non-Russian military element. That fifty thousand German and Austro-Hungarian war prisoners were incorporated into the Red Army at that time is not only generally ignored but even contradicted in the well-known Webster-Hicks report, as well as in F. L. Shuman's and Louis Fisher's writings on the subject. The publication of this figure in a Soviet periodical certainly sheds a new light on this question. The role of the Lettish regiments and of the Hungarian Battalion under Bela Kun in saving the day for Lenin during the Socialist-Revolutionists' rebellion is, of course, better known. Under these circumstances it may perhaps be permissible to say that foreign intervention in Russia was started by Lenin himself through the use of these foreign mercenaries and foreign revolutionaries against his Russian opponents.

The widely spread belief that Bolsheviks were opposed in their consolidation of power by landlords and the bourgeoisie only, receives a rude shock from the evidence of documents in this volume. The present Soviet ambassador at the Court of St. James, I. Maisky, a Menshevik at the time, spoke in 1918 of "rebellions of workers and peasants . . . everywhere in evidence" (p. 189). Reports about groups of peasants and workers storming the Pavlovskii Posad Soviet (p. 158), anti-Bolshevik resolutions of the

Bogatyr factory workers (p. 159), and the revolt of the Riazan workers (p. 164) introduce a definite rebuttal of the accepted cliché.

There is a lack of editorial notes such as, for instance, are used in No. 10 of the Hoover War Library Publications. An American reader not thoroughly versed in recent Russian history is likely to be confused by the numerous names of persons and places left without adequate editorial elucidation. There are a few mistakes in translation and editing. Nalokov was not the Russian ambassador to Great Britain, only the chargé d'affaires (p. 59). "Chief Clerk" (p. 45) is hardly a happy translation of the title of one of the members of the cabinet of the Dono-Caucasian Federation. Captain Cromie was killed not in the consular building but in the embassy (p. 147). "Flying squadrons" (p. 208) is confusing, conveying the impression of air forces participating in food collections. These are, however, minor errors. The translation and editing of the materials has on the whole been done carefully and accurately.

It is to be hoped that James Bunyan will continue his useful work in the field of publishing English translations of documents bearing on recent Russian history and that the present volume will soon be followed by others covering later phases of civil war and communism in Russia.

Philadelphia. D. Fedotoff White.

AMERICAN HISTORY

Dictionary of American Biography. Edited by Dumas Malone. Volumes XIX-XX, *Troye-Zunser.* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1936. Pp. x, 659; xxvi, 662. $12.50 each; $250 for the complete set.)

With the publication of the last two installments of the *Dictionary of American Biography* a great editorial undertaking comes to triumphant conclusion. The new volumes contain 1360 memoirs, bringing the grand total to 13,627. (The editors' count is 13,633.) The surnames that score the highest number of sketches in the present volumes are Williams, 57; White and Whyte, 38; Wilson and Willson, 36; Wood and Woods, 35; Ward, 32; Walker, 31; and Wright, 30. With the complete roster of American immortals now before us it is possible to state authoritatively that the ranks of national fame have been recruited most numerously from the Smiths, the Browns, the Johnsons, the Joneses, and the Williamses, in the order given. The significance of this finding, however, is diminished by the fact that the *Dictionary* places only one member of this group, President Johnson, in the select list of seventy-six Americans who are allotted an article of five thousand words or more.

These concluding volumes maintain the high standards characteristic of the work as a whole. Among the articles of exceptional merit are W. E. Smith's "Martin Van Buren", R. D. W. Connor's "Zebulon Baird Vance"

Max Lerner's "Thorstein Bunde Veblen", B. R. Trimble's "Morrison Remick Waite", H. D. Jordan's "Robert John Walker", J. E. Fitzpatrick's "George Washington", A. C. Cole's "Daniel Webster", Charles Moore's "Stanford White", H. E. Starr's "George Whitefield", J. P. Boyd's "James Wilson", Charles Seymour's "Woodrow Wilson", J. O. Wettereau's "Oliver Wolcott", and Bernard De Voto's "Brigham Young". The usual question arises as to persons of distinction whose biographies the editorial staff failed to include. Among such absentees in these last volumes are Giovanni Turini (1841-1899), sculptor; J. E. Turner (1822-1889), founder of inebriate asylums; William Van Anden (1815-1892), inventor of railroad appliances; P. J. J. Valentini (1828-1899), pioneer American archaeologist; T. R. Varick (1825-1887), surgical scientist; T. J. Walsh (d. 1865), labor leader; Henry Watkins (1825-1894), actor and playwright; J. W. Watts (1830-1895), steel engraver; Darius Wells (1800-1875), inventor of wood type; W. H. West (1853-1902), minstrel performer; Norman Wiard (1826-1896), mechanical inventor; J. F. Willard ("Josiah Flynt") (1869-1907), sociological writer; Septimus Winner (1827-1902), song writer; Annie T. Wittenmyer (1827-1900), temperance worker and first president of the W. C. T. U.; Eliza Logan (Wood) (1830-1872), actress; Isaac Wood (1793-1868), ophthalmic surgeon; M. A. Woolf (1837-1899), magazine illustrator; H. C. Wright (1797-1870), reformer; and G. W. N. Yost (1831-1895), inventor and manufacturer of typewriters.

Before taking final leave of the *Dictionary* in these pages an appraisal of the set as a whole is appropriate. The twenty stout maroon volumes, embodying the work of 2243 different authors, form a monument of which any nation might be proud. Compared with the *Dictionary of National Biography*, the American compilation has been rather more catholic in its coverage and, when due allowance is made for its smaller size, has enlisted the efforts of six or seven times as many contributors. Its literary excellence is quite as high, and its percentage of errata is apparently much smaller.

The greatest value of the work lies less in its presentation of major characters than in its portrayal of minor ones. This can be said despite the fact that the *Dictionary's* compact sketches of such figures as J. Willard Gibbs, Thomas Jefferson, and Woodrow Wilson are probably the best biographical treatments of these men anywhere in print. For the lives of the great, however, information can easily be found in other places; but for the countless lesser men and women whom the editorial diligence has rescued from unmerited oblivion the *Dictionary* is the only recourse. Into the preparation of these minor memoirs has been distilled research of the most exacting and painstaking kind. Their authors, unfortunately too numerous to mention, have earned the gratitude of the entire scholarly world. Notwithstanding the comprehensiveness of the *Dictionary*, the successive volumes have encountered criticism because of exclusions; other omissions, as yet

unnoted, will undoubtedly come to light as the work is increasingly consulted. It would be a wise provision to issue an additional volume after five years in order to take care of the names that have been inadvertently left out. It is a curious fact that, though the murderous exploit of John Wilkes Booth is amply recorded, there is no biographical mention of the assassins of Presidents Garfield and McKinley.

Though the worst depression in history fell on the nation shortly after the first volumes of the *Dictionary* came from the press, little trace of that fact appears in the work. To be sure, the earlier memoirs of financial and business leaders tend to be written with a reticence and a tenderness that are absent from the later ones. It is also true that the later contributors, unlike the earlier ones, betray an occasional irritation with the accepted canons of traditional American capitalism, as when one author (XIX, 343) refers to "what ridiculous pass the blind acceptance of *laissez-faire* led its worshippers". Generally speaking, however, the sketches are presented with a notable degree of judicial detachment. The contributors have neither indulged the weakness for what has been called alibiography, nor have they subscribed to the modern doctrine: *De mortuis nil nisi debunkum.* The question of the apportionment of space among the different memoirs is a matter on which endless disagreement may be expected. If the editors have sometimes committed errors of judgment, it is clear that the decisions were not prompted by bias. In this galaxy of the great and notorious appear only 625 women, or one woman for every twenty-one men. This proportion does not seem unreasonable when it is considered that, in our contemporary age of the equality of the sexes, *Who's Who in America* for 1934-1935 lists but one woman for every fifteen or sixteen men. Thoughtful readers will be impressed by the extent to which the descendants of clergymen have attained distinction in nearly every walk of life. Therein lies an interesting reflection as to the social and intellectual cost that would have been inflicted on American civilization if Protestant Christianity had observed the practice of clerical celibacy.

Most users of the *Dictionary* would probably agree that two decisions affecting the general plan of the work were mistakes. One was the failure to set a definite deadline beyond which no further names would be admitted. Up until January 1, 1935, when such a deadline was finally established, any eligible American was included whose surname happened to fall within that section of the alphabet not yet covered by published volumes. The result is that one cannot turn with confidence to the *Dictionary* for memoirs of persons who died between 1928 and 1935. Many of them are there, of course, but for others, including those of John W. Burgess, Edward Channing, and Thomas A. Edison, one must seek elsewhere. Undoubtedly, too, this eagerness to be up to the minute deprived the editorial staff of the perspective necessary for a proper allotment of space and for a considered

appraisal of the man's career. The other decision involved the practice of signing articles with the initials rather than the names of the contributors. This obliges the reader in using the work to refer constantly to the lists at the front of the volumes where the initials are identified. Nor does it help him to remember that "A. A.", for example, are the initials of Adeline Adams, for in another volume her name may be abbreviated as "A——e. A." Likewise, "F. M." may stand for Florence Milligan in one volume, for Frank Monaghan in another, and for Fulmer Mood in a third. The simpler practice employed by the contemporaneous *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* is greatly to be preferred.

In a work containing more than eleven million words it is not surprising that inaccurate statements should occasionally appear. The early tendency of contributors to claim "firsts", "onlys", and "mosts" was evidently checked by the editorial blue pencil, for the later volumes evince a marked restraint in this respect. In general, the factual errors in the *Dictionary* concern the political and social background, that is, matters peripheral to the life being depicted. One persistent mistake, which reappears as late as Volume XX (p. 247), is the use of the word "impeachment" as though it signified the conviction of the official on trial. The most common error of omission is the failure of contributors to note parental occupations, a point of considerable interest to students inquiring into the conditions determining the choice of life careers in America.

Any just appraisal of the work must take into account not only its intrinsic value as a repository of information but also its service as a continuing stimulus to American scholarship. Many significant figures are recalled to historical memory that deserve a fuller biographical treatment than the limits of the *Dictionary* permitted. In addition to those mentioned in earlier reviews of the work, the two concluding volumes suggest the desirability of modern full-length studies of C. L. Vallandigham, John Van Buren, Zebulon B. Vance, C. J. Van Depoele, Benjamin F. Wade, Robert J. Walker, A. Montgomery Ward, David A. Wells, Richard Grant White, Henry Wilson, John Winthrop (1714-1779), and C. T. Yerkes. Aside from strictly biographical studies, the *Dictionary* opens the way for an exploration of many neglected avenues of the American past. Here are provided abundant data for a new assessment of sectional contributions to the national culture, of the role of racial elements in the population, and of the part played by women. Here too is to be found initial material for an investigation of the early history of private philanthropy in America, of the development of the civil engineering profession, of the history of publishing, as well as of many of the minor religious sects. The influence of the *Dictionary* may be expected to ramify into the researches of scholars for a generation to come. For this reason a supplementary volume containing an analytical subject index is highly desirable.

All in all, the *Dictionary* embodies an achievement so impressive as to render any criticism of details the merest caviling. The sponsorship of the American Council of Learned Societies, the generous subsidies of Adolph S. Ochs, the devoted efforts of the editorial staff and the contributors, and the collaboration of the publisher in providing an attractive format have been richly justified by the results. Professional scholars in all fields and the lay public as well will long continue in their debt.

Harvard University. A. M. SCHLESINGER.

A Dictionary of Books relating to America, from its Discovery to the Present Time. By JOSEPH SABIN, continued by WILBERFORCE EAMES, and completed by R. W. G. VAIL. Twenty-nine volumes. (New York. 1868-1936. Price on application to Charles E. Goodspeed, Boston.)

AFTER seventy years this monumental work has had its alphabet completed, ending with "Zwey Schreiben", but as all good things are three, it has had three responsible editors.

Joseph Sabin was born in Brereton, Northampton, England, on December 9, 1821. At the age of fourteen he was apprenticed to a bookseller of Oxford and in a short time rose to be business manager. Soon after he married, in 1844, he established his own bookshop in Oxford; but in 1848 he came to the United States, purposing to farm in Texas. However, when he arrived in Philadelphia and learned how far off Texas was, he settled in the Quaker city, in the employ of the Appletons, and continued with that firm there or in New York City. In 1855 he began his own business in Philadelphia as a dealer in fine editions of domestic and foreign publications.

The earliest evidence we have of his projected bibliography is derived from an advertisement published in the *Historical Magazine* of May, 1859, while he still resided in Philadelphia. This advertisement was a "Prospectus of an American Bibliographer's Manual" to be known as "A Bibliographical Dictionary of all Books relating to America. From its discovery to the present time; also, of Books printed in the United States before A.D. 1800, with their current or approximate value". This work was to "be arranged after the plan of Brunet and Lowndes" and to be provided with "an analytical or finding index", a specimen of which was given. At this time Sabin said that he had on hand fifteen thousand titles, which were being constantly augmented. Such was the embryonic plan. The completed work has now 106,413 serial numbers, "but thousands of these serial numbers represent not one but many titles and editions. . . . It is therefore probable that well over a quarter of a million different publications appear in the Dictionary as well as the location in the world's great libraries of not far from a million copies."

Sabin's business in Philadelphia suffered from the outbreak of the Civil War, and he removed to Broadway and Fourth Street in New York City. In New York he and his successors continued the business until the time of

its recent dissolution. In a prospectus of December 5, 1866, Sabin revealed how he had been projecting his *Dictionary* for fifteen years and had spent the last four of them preparing the first volume for publication.

The *Dictionary* was issued in parts, sometimes single and sometimes double parts, with title pages, etc. for each volume. It was planned originally to be an edition of 525 octavo copies and 110 copies on large paper. The edition was carried out through the first double part of Volume XX (1892), at which point the work was suspended for a long time. When the next part of that volume was printed in 1927 (a single part), all copies were made octavo, and thereafter no large paper copies were issued. This made it necessary for owners to cut down the first double part of Volume XX to produce a uniform octavo volume, and owners of large paper sets have had to be content with filling out their sets with smaller volumes. Money talks—the necessity of economy decided this curtailment, as it did many others yet to be mentioned.

The first number of the *Dictionary* was printed late in 1866 but appeared in January, 1867, and the first volume was complete in 1868; the final part (No. 172), completing Volume XXIX (dated 1936), was completed early in 1937. With the first volume in six parts, finished in September, 1868, Sabin gave notice of his intention "to issue a preface to the whole work with the last volume", and in place of a preface to the first volume he contented himself with reproducing his prospectus of December 5, 1866, "with some alterations". He added: "Had the magnitude and extreme difficulty of the undertaking been presented to my mind in full proportions at the outset, I should never have attempted it; and, indeed, I may remark, that I have more than once almost determined upon its abandonment; but a deep sense of its importance, however imperfectly it may be executed, and a strong partiality for bibliographical pursuits, have stimulated me to continue my labor, until the work has attained such a degree of completeness as to justify its publication, and render its conclusion a task of comparative ease". It was not, however, with "ease" that Sabin carried on through eighty-two parts till his death in 1881. His devotion to his *Dictionary* ruined his health and absorbed his wordly possessions. Notwithstanding he used no tea, coffee, or tobacco and was a teetotaler, he was a victim of Bright's disease. The writer of an obituary, who knew him, said: "Utterly unselfish, loving learning for its own sake and not for the sake of pecuniary profit to which it might be turned, he leaves no large fortune to his heirs, but he does leave the memory of a singularly pure and upright man, who, had he been inclined to turn his talents to their most profitable dollar and cents account, would have become a rich man."

The plan of the *Dictionary* has been mainly an alphabetical arrangement by authors, while anonymous titles have been placed under the first word (not an article) or "under the most obvious subject". It is this topical arrange-

ment that has been the most difficult to use when no cross references have been employed. This Sabin himself realized, and he promised to present in the last volume "an Index of Subjects" to "obviate some of these difficulties". But the promise of an analytical or subject index has not been fulfilled. Sabin also realized the imperfections of his work. He expected "many criticisms" but said that he would "be glad to have errors pointed out and improvements suggested" and respectfully solicited co-operation. He even thought of a revised edition, and toward that end he had two sets, one at home and one at his shop, in which he wrote numerous revisions and additions. These sets have only now (1937) been presented to the New York Public Library. Of his methodology he remarked, that "whenever possible" he had "examined the books" himself and "described them with all necessary minuteness". For items beyond his reach he had to be content "with such descriptions" as had come to his attention in bibliographical works "or sometimes from a less trustworthy source—a Bookseller's Catalogue".

However unsatisfactory or incomplete titles at times prove to be when exact descriptions are wanted, it should be realized that the work was planned long ago, when modern facilities and technique were undreamed of. Indeed, much of this was altered as the work progressed, and a definite change took place when Wilberforce Eames assumed the editorship after Sabin's death. He, too, labored under great handicaps in the lack of facilities and time. The enterprise was always co-operative to a considerable degree, and the work of others had to be accepted often, if not generally, without verification. Such large sections as editions of the Bay Psalm Book, Ptolemy, Reisch's *Margarita Philosophica*, Captain John Smith, and Vespucci, all the work of Dr. Eames, are contributions of the highest type of scientific bibliography. He volunteered to continue Sabin's *Dictionary* and did it always gratuitously. The encomiums awarded Sabin for self-sacrifice and devotion go also with equal candor to him. He carried on from 1884 till 1892, when exacting duties as Librarian of the Lenox Library prevented him from continuing. In that period he brought out parts 83 to 116. The work was virtually suspended from 1893 to 1924, though some copy was revised or extended during that period.

Revival of publication began in earnest with part 117 in 1927. It was sponsored by the Bibliographical Society of America with a small grant of a revolving fund which had been received for this purpose. Many more thousands of dollars, however, had to be found for paying the editorial staff and printers. Sometimes it seemed impossible to go on, and it was only because of the dogged persistence of Dr. Harry M. Lydenberg, chairman of the Society's Sabin Committee, whose magic wand produced the funds, that the work was brought to an end. In its completion all concerned join in "Laus Deo" with Mr. R. W. G. Vail, who in 1930 became the last of the trinity of editors.

In an introduction to the last volume Mr. Vail tells the story and scope of

Sabin. Here and in a final statement of the Sabin Committee one may discover the large company of those who served, in one way or other, on the staff or as volunteers, the interests of the work. Modifications in the original Sabin plan had to be made from 1929 on, so that Volumes XXI to XXIX vary much by inclusion or exclusion. These modifications, which were necessitated by lack of funds, Mr. Vail describes on pages x-xi of his introduction, and the user of these volumes should familiarize himself with them.

New York Public Library. VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS.

Histoire de l'Amérique espagnole. Par HUGO D. BARBAGELATA. ["Choses d'Amérique", publiée sous la direction de l'Institut des études américaines.] (Paris: Armand Colin. 1936. Pp. 323. 28 fr.)

To cover the whole history of Spanish America in a single volume of 323 pages is a feat. Such a feat may be accomplished either by the textbook method of mentioning only the more important events and omitting most of the details or by the biographical method, such as this author uses, relating the more important events in connection with the lives of the participants and crowding all other events into brief summaries or even relegating them, as is frequently done in this book, to the footnotes.

That the author does not always use the best discrimination in the amount of space devoted to a particular personage may be judged by the fact that he allots two entire chapters out of the thirty to events in the life of Columbus, all the other conquistadors, with the exception of Pizarro, Cortés, and Quesada (each of whom is given his own chapter), being crowded into a single chapter filled with details as to the birth and death and trifling incidents in the early life of each.

In the section on pre-Columbian inhabitants the unfamiliar names of many Indian chieftans are mentioned. Where the author gets all his dates and details of dynasties and rulers of Indian tribes who left practically no literature which their conquerors did not destroy, is a mystery which he fails to elucidate in his footnotes.

In the chapters assigned to Bolívar and San Martín there is considerable discussion of the characters of these heroes but such brief allusions to events in the liberation of the republics that one who is not already familiar with the history of those events would be unable to understand the parts played by these liberators.

Part VI, entitled "Contemporary Period", covers the whole history of all the Spanish American republics from the time they gained their independence until about 1930 (in a few cases even to 1935), allotting a single chapter to each of the nations except the "Republics of the Antilles" and the "Republics of Central America", which are grouped into two chapters. Inasmuch as few omissions of persons or events have been noticed, it may readily be assumed that these chapters are crowded summaries of facts

sketchily reported, yet since so many of these facts, especially the more recent ones, are difficult to obtain elsewhere, they here form a convenient repository and give value to this work as a reference book.

A final chapter on a "Summary View of Present Conditions in Spanish America" is important because of its discussions of present economic and social conditions. There is noticeable a slight tendency to resent North American "financial exploitation". There are two small-scale outline maps, a satisfactory bibliography, and a table of contents, but no index.

Washington, Conn. ALFRED HASBROUCK.

The Social History of American Agriculture. By JOSEPH SCHAFER, Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1936. Pp. ix, 302. $2.50.)

MUCH that is usually embraced in the term "social" is not included in this book. Readers will find in it nothing about fireplaces, kitchen stoves, parlor decorations, lamps, or sanitation. Nor will they find any detailed accounts of what farmer families ate and drank or descriptions of everyday farm life. Dr. Schafer is not unaware that what he has omitted forms a very real part of the history of American farm life, but the eight chapters of which this volume consists were first presented in the form of lectures at the University of London, and Dr. Schafer was therefore compelled to select from a mass of material that which seemed to him to portray best the story of American agrarian development. All who read this book will agree that he not only chose his material wisely but organized it skillfully.

In chapter I, "Land for Farmers", the author traces the story of the manner in which the agricultural lands of America were taken up and distributed. Land speculation, the inadequacy of the federal land policies, and the dishonest subterfuges resorted to by numerous individuals and concerns are emphasized. Chapter II, "Primitive Subsistence Farming", deals largely with the kind of agriculture prevailing in early New England and on the moving frontier. The influence of Old World agricultural habits upon the New England farmer is stressed. Chapter III, "Big Business Farming", is concerned with the plantation system of the pre-Civil War South, the bonanza wheat farms of the West, and cattle ranching. In this chapter Dr. Schafer shows clearly that the trans-Mississippi cattle business had its forerunner in the Piedmont region at the time of the Revolution, and that "doubtless the Virginia cowboy was the same clever, charming, resourceful, and at times, daredevil rider of the range, who has been depicted with such faithful artistry by Owen Wister".

In the next two chapters, "Improved Farming" and "Professional Farming", Dr. Schafer indicates the efforts made to improve our farm methods and the various persons and agencies responsible for this improvement. In this connection one wonders why the name of Jesse Buel was omitted. Chap-

ter VI bears the title "Social Trends in Rural Life". Under this head the author discusses the development and characteristics of the planter aristocracy and of a few typical landed aristocrats in other parts of the country, sets forth what seem to him to be the reasons for the absence of a wheat-growing aristocracy, and discusses the working farmer and the effects of immigration upon farm labor and population. In chapter VII, "Political Trends in Rural Life", too much weight, in the reviewer's opinion, has been given to the pre-Civil War years and not enough to the period since 1865. In some respects the last chapter, "The Outlook for Farmers", outranks the others; certainly it is more inspirational and interpretative. Had space permitted, more attention might have been given to the problems of farm tenancy and co-operation.

Throughout, the material is clearly presented and well documented. Moreover, the text is remarkably free of errors and misprints. On page 13 "Jefferson Davis" should read "Job Davis", and the footnote pagination should be "767" instead of "760-768"—an error which the author himself discovered. In footnote 12 on page 193 the title *Aristocracy in the Politics of New York* should read *The Decline of Aristocracy in the Politics of New York*.

Although popular in treatment and prepared originally for a non-American audience, this volume is not only timely but is probably the best brief account of the development of American agriculture that has thus far been published.

Columbia University. HARRY J. CARMAN.

Judicial Cases concerning American Slavery and the Negro. Volume IV, *Cases from the Courts of New England, the Middle States, and the District of Columbia.* Edited by the late HELEN TUNNICLIFF CATTERALL. With additions by JAMES J. HAYDEN, Law School, Catholic University of America. (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1936. Pp. xi, 586. $2.75.)

MRS. Catterall's death on November 10, 1933, occurred before she had completed the present volume, and it was therefore necessary to supplement her unfinished work. Dr. James J. Hayden prepared the New York and New Jersey cases and their introductions, the Massachusetts cases after 1840, and certain Maryland cases published since 1933. The Connecticut introduction and some of the cases from that commonwealth were prepared by Mr. George W. Dalzell of the District of Columbia bar. Dr. J. Franklin Jameson was responsible for the other Connecticut cases and the Rhode Island introduction and cases and also prepared, except for Vermont and New Jersey, the second part of each introduction. In spite of diverse editorship, uniformity has been attained by following meticulously Mrs. Catterall's plan of compilation. The introductions vary in style and emphasis, but they are entirely adequate.

It was unfortunate that the cases from Maryland, Delaware, and the

District of Columbia could not have been included in the first volume, along with those from England, the Old Dominion, West Virginia, and Kentucky, but lack of space precluded that arrangement. As it stands, there is marked divergence in the fourth volume between the cases from the southern region and those from states north of Maryland. Considerably more than half the volume is devoted to the records from nine free states, an indication that American slavery and the Negro may have played a more important role in their judicial history than many have supposed.

As in previous volumes in the series, there is much involving transitions from slavery to freedom in ante-bellum years: manumissions by constitutional provisions and amendments, by deeds and wills, by purchase and self-purchase, by legislative acts and judicial decisions. There is information on crimes and misdemeanors, on penalties and pardons, on slave prices and slave hiring, on kidnapping and absconding, on indentured servants and apprentices. The responsibility of public carriers, such as stages and steamboats, for promoting escape is firmly established. The domestic traffic in slaves finds illustration, but the paucity of material on the subject is silent testimony of the legitimate business of reputable traders. The Maryland and Massachusetts cases in particular yield evidence on Indian slavery and servitude. Records from the populous states from Pennsylvania to New England fairly bristle with material on pauperism, the illicit foreign slave trade after 1807, and the attempted enforcement of the fugitive slave acts of 1793 and 1850.

The competency of the free Negro in court, his right to hold property, his limited privilege of suffrage, and his claim to redress for injuries to his person were all passed upon by state tribunals of highest resort. In Delaware alone of the slave states, "a negro was presumed to be free" (p. 211); but in New Jersey black color was "proof of slavery . . . which must be overcome before the witness can be received" (p. 337). It is of more than passing interest that the Massachusetts supreme court ruled in 1849 that a Negro child could be excluded from a Boston white school since provision had been made for separate Negro schools (pp. 512-514). A decade later a Negro was forcibly ejected from a Boston theater, and another was expelled from a Lowell concert hall. In each case the court ruled that the defendant had rightfully used a modicum of force to remove the plaintiff from the building (pp. 524, 527-528). There is evidence of the activities of colonization and antislavery societies, and there are valuable notes on the establishment and maintenance of Negro churches.

As a sprinkling of miscellany, a plaintiff produced a notched stick "to prove an account running through two or three years" (pp. 223-224); an Eastern Shore Indian demanded and received indemnity in deerskins for goods stolen by a Negro (p. 32); a woman of color served as administratrix (p. 232); a Delaware Negro had fifty-one children by three wives (p. 236);

a Negro from the Chesapeake Bay region turned pirate (p. 27); a colored cook and steward received respectively $3853.41 and $3353.41 for helping to recapture their ship from a French corvette (pp. 267-268); sundry slaves shared in the salvage of a shipwrecked brig (p. 268); and a Pennsylvania farmer renounced his bucolic vocation to enter "the business of *slave-catching*" (p. 310).

The series will be brought to a close with a fifth volume, which will include cases "for the states west of Pennsylvania, north of the Ohio . . . [and] west of the Mississippi, together with reported cases from Canada and Jamaica" (p. iii).

The Louisiana State University. WENDELL HOLMES STEPHENSON.

A Diplomatic History of the United States. By SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1936. Pp. xii, 881. $4.00.)

IN the indispensable guide to diplomatic history by Bemis and Griffin (1935) the statement is made (p. 709) that "there is at present no adequate comprehensive diplomatic history of the United States". Professor Bemis's complaint is no longer well founded, for he has himself supplied the lack of which he was conscious. He was engaged in undertaking to remedy the deficiency, one may surmise, for a considerable period before the guide was completed. Indeed, one may characterize his *Diplomatic History* as a companion volume to the guide. It is a work of synthesis, for the historian here is the bibliographer who has patiently digested his own bibliography; it embodies "the contributions of a generation of vigorous research by scholars in many countries" and gives "perspective and interpretation to the whole diplomatic history and foreign policy of the United States" (vii). A generation of scholars look back with gratitude to the outline by Albert Bushnell Hart, whose *Foundations of American Foreign Policy* appeared in 1901. Professor Bemis devotes more than a third of his work to the years which have passed since Professor Hart's pioneer volume was published. Since then there have been numerous accounts of American foreign policy, nearly all in single volumes: Foster, Fish, Johnson, Adams, Sears, Moore, Latané, and Jones, several of them widely used as textbooks for undergraduate courses of a type practically unknown before Hart's book appeared.

It might have been supposed that Professor Bemis would devote a very large part of his work to the period of the beginnings, remembering his numerous contributions in that period, but he has not done so. He has divided his work into three epochs—the foundations (down to 1823), expansion (from 1823 to the close of the Spanish American War), and the twentieth century. To the last the author has devoted more space than to either of the others. Fortunately there has been no slavish adherence to chronological narrative; a topical treatment is resorted to in order to give a complete picture.

This threefold division of the entire period discloses the general attitude which the author maintains. Certainly for the first period and largely for the second he concludes that on the whole the course of American foreign policy was wise and successful. For the period since 1898 he believes that this has not been the case, except as to Mexico and Latin America, and he thinks that there has been a series of blunders and failures. Without undertaking to traverse the author's conclusions as to the last period, the reviewer has the feeling that the first two periods allow for reasoned judgments and generalizations because of the author's special and first-hand investigations therein and the fact that the earlier topics are not now controversial since they have been beatified by time, while the period since 1898 presents difficulties of perspective and of unsettled controversy because linked to the policies of the present. This period still produces emotional reactions which are not wholly concealed in Professor Bemis's later pages. In general he is an isolationist and anti-imperialist, for whom the Treaty of Peace of 1783 is "the greatest triumph of American diplomacy" (p. 61). The principles of Washington's Farewell Address "became so firmly established an American policy as still to stand, even in our days in a vastly altered world" (p. 110). From such heights the only way to proceed is obviously downward. The thesis maintained in this volume that "Europe's distresses were America's advantage" (p. 137) is one that is certainly debatable, *teste:* (a) American territorial expansion and consolidation during the long European peace which ended with the Crimean War and (b) the lack of advantage to the United States of the distress of Europe which began in 1914 and still is. According to Professor Bemis the Spanish American War was the "Great Aberration". From it proceeded the series of "blunders" in our Far Eastern policy: (1) the taking of the Philippines, (2) Hay's open-door policy, (3) "The Portsmouth adventure" of 1905, (4) Knox's neutralization plan (but the Stimson pronouncement of 1932 is not so characterized). The rejection of the League in 1919 was "an advantage to the United States" (p. 652). As to our Mexican policy (1867-1936), the United States has shown an "almost Gallilean forbearance" (p. 539) and a degree of benevolence and unselfishness, of which "in all history there is no such example" (p. 564). Generally in his treatment of our policy as a neutral and belligerent, 1914-1918, the author is plainly determined to be rigorously "American", a position with which no one can quarrel. But he inserted a note on the *Lusitania* case which the reviewer cannot pass without comment. Professor Bemis states (p. 610): "One might well wonder whether the British Government purposely exposed to attack the Lusitania and other British passenger vessels carrying American citizens, in order to lead the Germans on to a rash act which might bring the United States into the War. King George remarked to Colonel House, as the Lusitania was nearing her fate, 'Suppose they should sink the Lusitania with American passengers on board.'" Of course any one may "wonder" to his

heart's content, but thus to express this wonder in the pages of a serious contribution is to make, without the slightest evidence to support it, an unwarranted charge. It is not pleasant to say this, but the reviewer would feel himself stultified if he let it pass without challenge. One cannot prove a negative, and Professor Bemis states: "The truth probably never will be known whether the British and French governments deliberately exposed these ships for high diplomatic stakes." So, unfortunately, those who want to believe the charge will vouch Professor Bemis to warranty for it. The disclosures as to the *Lusitania* case before the German American Claims Commission might at least have been referred to.

Leaving all this, one may turn to other aspects of the book. It is written in a smooth, fresh style. It is never dull. It discusses more topics than any of its predecessors. In general it faithfully presents the multitudinous monographic contributions of the past thirty years. Mechanically the volume is attractive, and much is gained by the large use of maps specially designed by Dr. Boggs. These constitute a good historical atlas of the United States not easily accessible to the ordinary reader. Spatial limitations do not permit reference to statements of detail, some of which are obviously misprints. On the one hand, the volume is as good as one expected it to be—and that is indeed praise. On the other, Professor Bemis probably did not expect every one to agree with him. Both expectations are therefore realized.

The University of Michigan. J. S. Reeves.

The Colonial Period of American History. By Charles M. Andrews, Farnam Professor of American History, Emeritus, Yale University. Volume II, *The Settlements.* (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1936. Pp. 407. $4.00.)

With this volume the judgments already passed upon the initial volume of Professor Andrews's great institutional history are confirmed, and the scope of the work is further defined. Three volumes, instead of the two originally planned, will be devoted to the settlements and the fourth to the colonial policy of the mother country.

The second volume divides rather evenly into two parts. In five chapters the author traces the origins and seventeenth century development of Rhode Island and Connecticut and the rise and fall of New Haven. The causes of New England expansion southward and westward have already been shown in Volume I, so far as they involved impulses from England or religious schisms in Massachusetts. Here Professor Andrews gives fuller value both to pressure of population at a time when men were filled with a "passionate desire for land" and to the "overplus of strong minds and wills" in the Bay colony. One of the distinctions of his history is well illustrated in the sound, considered judgments which he has formed of the principles and personalities of leaders so diverse—and so often in conflict—as the Rhode Island group.

On Williams's doctrines of "soul liberty" and separation of church and state, little that is said is quite new; but the penetrating definition of Williams's qualified individualism (pp. 20-21) could hardly be improved. Professor Andrews has also taken the trouble to understand the bewildering case of the arch-individualist, William Harris, "the one man that Roger Williams distinctly did not like". Samuel Gorton receives the "square deal" which Massachusetts historians, following Massachusetts and Plymouth contemporaries, have begrudged him; Professor Andrews finds Gorton's hand, plausibly, in the significant code of 1647. Examples from Rhode Island of his success in appraising the seventeenth century leaders have been given, but as much can be said for his understanding portrayals of Hooker, Davenport, John Winthrop, jr., and the rest. Winthrop's influence on the dispatch of the Rhode Island charter is rightly emphasized. His equivocal position as agent in relation to the Rhode Island boundary affair and to the absorption of New Haven is frankly examined. And Winthrop furnishes another of the many instances of Professor Andrews's zeal in exploring the English connections of the leaders in colonization.

Thus Professor Andrews continues to write a human history of institutions rather than an aridly legalistic analysis. At the same time he exhibits his wonted skill in the analysis of such institutional problems as the genesis and character of the Fundamental Orders, the case of the Warwick patent, and the history of the Rhode Island and Connecticut charters.

He has incorporated rather more economic and social materials in this than in the previous volume. The beginnings of that commerce which would make Rhode Island an amphibian community appear. In Connecticut those social changes are noted which discredited the distinctive ideals of Hooker "within twenty years of the adoption of the Fundamental Orders"; and the agricultural environment of the colony is pictured. In the chapter on New Haven the failure of the colony as a commercial enterprise and its lapse into a congeries of "agricultural communities in a region that was not well adapted for agricultural purposes" are presented in some detail.

That the author, though properly committed to his main task of writing institutional history, is not oblivious to the significance of social and economic influences is abundantly demonstrated when he turns again, midway in this volume, to the English background, this time to exhibit the origins of the proprieties. In the seventeenth century "Englishmen were still agriculturally minded, and land not trade, Anglicanism not dissent, manorial organisation not city life, governed the thought and conduct" of the privileged classes (p. 200). The transformation of manors into landed estates, of lords into squirearchy, and the infusion of capitalistic elements in rural society still left in England many feudal or manorial survivals—survivals which became anachronisms when transplanted to the soil of frontier America. In an introductory chapter, in some respects the most valuable in the volume, Professor

Andrews traces from the early seventeenth century to the American Revolution many of the persistent attempts of the English proprietary classes to establish a seignorial system in America. This survey, though it includes more failures than even temporary successes, gives a depth hitherto lacking to the history of the great proprietary provinces.

Of these, only Maryland is yet included, although the proprietary regimes in Barbados and the Leeward Islands are also set out. Again the advantages of the broad horizon of this work appear in significant comparisons of Barbados and Maryland—and in the contrast also of Maryland and Massachusetts. In Barbados as on the continent seventeenth century localism, exhibited there as in Maryland in the planters' challenge to proprietary prerogative, paved the way for eighteenth century conflicts with royal prerogative and for the rise of the assemblies. But in these protests, we are reminded, there was nothing democratic: the agitation was for the rights of Englishmen as understood in the seventeenth century.

The University of Michigan. VERNER W. CRANE.

Three Centuries of Harvard, 1636-1936. By SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1936. Pp. viii, 512. $3.50.)

THE same happy blending of scholarship and readability which characterizes the author's exhaustive Tercentennial History is evident in this volume, prepared especially for the celebration. A smooth narrative carries the reader forward. We share the struggles of the Corporation to ward off, first, theological, then political control and see the university emerge in 1865, freed from the shackles of church and state and ready for Eliot, who was to unleash its full powers. We discern in the slow evolution of the curriculum the influence of three major forces: the inherited classical and puritan tradition, the steady pressure of the New World environment, and repeated fresh intellectual stimuli from abroad.

Personalities abound: the parental despot, the pompous figurehead, the otherworldly scholar who knew his Plato but did not understand his sophomores, and the gentlemanly leader who strove to substitute internal for external compulsion. All are projected against the background of Harvard Yard, where the undergraduate had his being, and where at times he asserted himself so vigorously that President Quincy, for example, on returning to live in Boston, found he could not sleep because the nights were so quiet.

The author has avoided all stuffiness of style, and only the last two chapters, which bear marks of haste, are "catalogy" now and then; in the main the book is informal and picturesque. At the same time it has a message. The repeated emphasis on the liberal tradition, academic freedom, and resistance to control suggests that it has been produced under the shadow of the Massachusetts loyalty oath, and one welcomes it as a salutary tract for the times (pp. 24, 63, 142, 256, 454).

The author's opinions are sometimes challenging. He considers the mentally broadening study of antique culture, rather than "practical courses" on politics and government, a major factor explaining Harvard's effective service in the Revolution. This reviewer wonders whether the sessions of the General Court in the college buildings during 1770-1773 and orations in the Speaking Club on such themes as "The Pernicious Practice of Drinking Tea" did not perhaps take the place of such "practical courses". Some students of education may question whether Francis Wayland's pamphlet, *Thoughts on the Present Collegiate System,* was "probably productive of more mischief than any other in the history of American education" (p. 286), or whether "Mr. Eliot, more than any other man, is responsible for the greatest educational crime of the century against American youth—depriving him of his classical heritage" (p. 389).

New Jersey College for Women. GEORGE P. SCHMIDT.

The Diplomatic History of Georgia: A Study of the Epoch of Jenkins' Ear. By JOHN TATE LANNING. [Publications of the University of Georgia.] (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1936. Pp. x, 275. $4.00.)

IN eleven well-written chapters, replete with precise footnote references to the recognized sources, Spanish as well as British, Dr. Lanning here presents a needed historical revision of the Anglo-Spanish struggle for Georgia in the eighteenth century. After a brief but incisive first chapter which clearly states the issue, the author successfully traverses "the maze of official reports and letters" in detailing at greater length the efforts of England and Spain to gain supremacy through Indian support. British control of the Creeks and Cherokees "laid the foundation for the half-flaunting, half-Quixotic Indian diplomacy of the master—Oglethorpe" (p. 31), the importance of whose philanthropic interest in the Georgia movement is minimized (pp. 32-33). It is this point which warrants perhaps the most serious criticism, for in the opinion of this reviewer the Oglethorpe who was "martial and imperialistic rather than humble and philanthropic . . . a wily entrepreneur" (p. 36) is unduly emphasized at the expense of the humanitarian chairman of the Prison Committee and the friend of sundry sects. Apart from this the author presents in ample detail the narrative of the negotiations in Georgia and Florida for an accord between Arredondo and Oglethorpe.

The fourth chapter covers Don Miguel Wall's intrigue in the Spanish attempt against Georgia of 1735-1736, Minister Keene's labors in Madrid, and the resulting battle of wits in London between the energetic Spanish minister, Geraldino, the vacillating Walpole, the often distraught Newcastle, and the turbulent, suspicious, and tenacious Oglethorpe.

The processes of European diplomacy leading up to the Convention of Pardo are examined with generous source quotations in chapter v, wherein

Dr. Lanning has well portrayed the hopes and fears of the Georgia Trustees, the failure of Oglethorpe's personal accord with Sanchez in America, and his famous fraud on the Trustees in regard to the two Fort Georges, King and Saint. Oglethorpe's departure for Georgia in 1738 helped to create a crisis, the sole solution of which seemed to lie in the meeting at Pardo in 1739, the course of which and the general diplomatic collapse attendant upon its failure, form the subject of the sixth and seventh chapters, which lead up to the next critical episode, that of Jenkins' Ear.

The now famous narrative of an otherwise unknown sea captain, the angry murmurs of the English mob, the recurrent petitions of British merchants against Spanish depredations, the futility of negotiations at Madrid, and the agonized agitation of the Trustees finally forced Walpole's hand; and the exploits of Britain's Caribbean navy, together with an analysis of the polity of the thirteen continental colonies, fill chapters VIII and IX. Here it is that Dr. Lanning stresses, perhaps unduly, the importance of Captain Lawrence Washington (p. 219). In a chapter that is proportionally far too brief the author describes as the "Seal of Oglethorpe's Diplomacy" the attack on Saint Augustine, the defense of Georgia at Bloody Marsh, and the final futile flourish against Florida, while the closing chapter brings together the outlying threads of the narrative.

Dr. Lanning has done a thorough piece of work in a field he has made peculiarly his own. His style is dignified and restrained but not heavy, and errors in proofreading and spelling are few. The most serious error, in the light of Dr. Verner Crane's recent criticism in this *Review* (XLII, 146), seems to be the ascription to Oglethrope as author of *A New and Accurate Account of the Provinces of South-Carolina and Georgia*. Amply upholding the high repute of the University of North Carolina Press in mechanical make-up, this volume contains four excellent drawings of Keene, Newcastle, Oglethorpe, and Lawrence Washington; two clearly drawn maps of the Debatable Land and the Naval War of Jenkins' Ear; a lengthy, if generally uncritical, bibliography; and a most satisfactory index.

Lehigh University. AMOS A. ETTINGER.

Benjamin Franklin, Englishman and American. By VERNER WINSLOW CRANE, Professor of American History in the University of Michigan. [The Colver Lectures in Brown University, 1935.] (Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins Company. 1936. Pp. 142. $1.50.)

General Benjamin Franklin: The Military Career of a Philosopher. By J. BENNETT NOLAN. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1936. Pp. vi, 101. $1.50.)

THESE two slender volumes throw new light upon the thought and activity of the most versatile American of the eighteenth century. Mr. Nolan's contribution is based upon evidence discovered by diligent research, espe-

cially in the Moravian diaries and the manuscripts of the American Philosophical Society. Professor Crane's essays constitute a brilliant reappraisal of Franklin's social philosophy and political theory in terms of his inheritance from Puritanism, his long training in intercolonialism, and his close association with contemporary philosophic thought in Europe. From England came the "specific intellectual influences which shaped Franklin's views of the natural world and of man, of religion and ethics, and to a degree his economics and sociology" (p. 38). The turning point in his thinking may have come during his residence in London in 1725-1726, for after his return to Philadelphia he abandoned his earlier interest in metaphysics and busied himself with attempts to resolve practical problems. One wishes that Professor Crane had expanded his brief but penetrating analysis of the relation between Poor Richard's "prudential writings" and the nineteenth century cult of acquisitiveness and material success. He does suggest that the Franklinian social philosophy cannot be translated into a modern defense of "rugged individualism" against the principle of social control.

The most significant portion of these essays deals with Franklin's persistent search for a solution of the central problem of the British Empire—the attempt to reconcile colonial autonomy with imperial authority. That he was far ahead of his generation in his plans concerning federal union is obvious from Professor Crane's careful exposition. But certain questions still remain. How early did Franklin reach the conclusion that the interests of America could no longer be served within the formula of mercantilistic economics? Granting that he was well prepared by study and experience on both sides of the Atlantic to grapple with questions of statecraft, did he realize, as quickly as his contemporaries, what the colonial reaction would be to such legislation as the Stamp Act? Was there a genuine stability of purpose underlying his apparent inability to choose between colonial home rule and federal empire? Was the role of mediator, which he vainly strove to play, the result of intellectual conviction, or was it an imperative which grew out of his official positions and his personal contacts in England and America? Professor Crane is inclined to see a purposeful plan beneath Franklin's indecision. It is possible that he has unduly minimized the confusion and doubt which plagued the philosopher-diplomat during the two decades before the English colonies proclaimed their independence.

Turning to Mr. Nolan's volume, the reader leaves the realm of ideas for the field of action, on which is revealed the "military career" of Benjamin Franklin. During the winter of 1755-1756 the "General", as the Moravian settlers were wont to address him, led an expedition to arrange for the defense of the Lehigh frontier which had been left exposed by the disastrous defeat of General Braddock. Mr. Nolan tells the story with great charm, but he yields to the temptation to exaggerate the crisis and the achievement of the Philadelphia philosopher. Although Franklin demonstrated his usual in-

genuity, he made no real contribution to the military success of the expedition. The primitive stockade, known as Fort Allen, which he caused to be built, may have given the frontiersmen a greater sense of security, but one doubts whether its two swivel guns high in the Lehigh hills would have stopped a determined foe. Certainly its construction did not make Franklin a military engineer. And it is difficult to agree that but for this "timely and vigorous gesture of defense" the decisive battle for racial supremacy in North America might have been "fought not under the walls of Quebec but on the banks of the Delaware" (p. 98).

Columbia University. JOHN A. KROUT.

Sam Adams, Pioneer in Propaganda. By JOHN C. MILLER. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1936. Pp. 437. $4.00.)

THIS book is the product of three years' postgraduate but independent research, and the result is totally different from the usual doctoral dissertation. Here is a full biography of one of the most controversial characters in the American Revolution, written with great confidence and assurance. The timid cautions of the candidate for a degree are missing in its bold, assertive pages. Somewhat after the manner of J. T. Adams, the author thus declares himself:

The Revolution in Massachusetts was the culmination of an old struggle between two classes, the aristocrats and the common people—yeomen and mechanics—Hutchinson leading the one, Adams the other. But the Adams party was not united at first, for the country yeomen distrusted Boston's leadership. Adams led the city workers, and in the days of the Stamp Act it was clear that "Boston was controlled by a 'trained mob' and that Sam Adams was its keeper" (p. 53). Determined on independence by 1768, he realized that only a crisis would unite the country party and the city workers: "For many years, Sam Adams had made it his policy to provoke the British government to attempt the punishment of the colonies—a step certain to put the provincial radicals in power" (p. 301). In 1768, therefore, he forced a nonimportation agreement on the merchants and called a convention of delegates to resist the Townshend Acts and the troops, but though he threatened war and scoured the town for volunteers, the country delegates refused to start a rebellion. Adams later accomplished the Boston Massacre, but even that failed to produce the results he had hoped for. It was the Tea Act which finally gave him the opportunity to create a rebellion. The Tea Party united the radicals, and the punitive measures united to them the country party. At last Sam Adams controlled Massachusetts, and he set out for Philadelphia, determined that if there had to be a congress, he would control it. There, with the aid of a few stanch friends, he could "prearrange the proceedings of the Continental Congress in the same manner he had controlled the Boston town meetings". Thus, by "transplanting the caucus from Faneuil Hall to

Philadelphia, Adams overthrew the conservatives in Congress just as he had driven the Tories out of the Boston town meeting" (pp. 318, 342). At last Sam Adams controlled the country. How does the old saying go? "In 1775, Massachusetts ran the country, Boston ran Massachusetts, and Sam Adams ran Boston."

In its larger outlines this story does not differ essentially from that told by Harlow, nor from that which Hutchinson would have written. Indeed, in large measure it is Hutchinson's story that is told, for the official opinion of Adams's diabolical importance is fully presented. It is the historical type of biography rather than the so-called modern type of Maurois or Ludwig, and the author evidences no central theory of personality or of biography in relation to history. It is a straightforward narrative based on the assumption that Adams was the father of the Revolution, and the author proceeds to show with well-selected detail how this revolutionist accomplished his purpose. The emphasis throughout is upon Adams, not upon his propaganda, for there is no searching analysis of Adams as a propagandist. In the development of his story the author stresses the antagonism of town and country, the effects on Adams of intercolonial rivalry for pre-eminence in opposition to England, and the relation to Adams of the personalities of the period. Otis, Hancock, and John Adams are treated in detail, but the relations of other leaders to Adams are dealt with more casually. This personal material is particularly well handled. In its details the book is based to an unusual extent upon primary material; the author is, however, obviously familiar with the best modern work on the Revolution, although he does not cite it, and Adams is placed against the background of the Revolution as currently viewed. This background is summarized and sketched in with real ability.

Few errors mar the accuracy of detail, and the press work is splendid. The style, though repetitious and strained at times, is lucid and vigorous, and the reader will find here an intriguing personal history of the period in Massachusetts. It is a thoroughly promising piece of work. Few new writers have the author's ability to handle a mass of documentary material relating to so broad a subject and to assimilate comprehendingly so much information.

Agnes Scott College. PHILIP DAVIDSON.

Letters of Members of the Continental Congress. Edited by EDMUND C. BURNETT. Volume VII, *January 1, 1783, to December 31, 1784;* Volume VIII, *January 1, 1785, to July 25, 1789, with Supplement, 1783-1784.* (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1934; 1936. Pp. lxxvii, 670; c, 899. $4.00; $5.00.)

THREE decades have passed since Dr. Jameson inaugurated this series of *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* and Dr. Burnett was placed in immediate charge. The first volume saw the light in 1921, and the two volumes now under review bring this monumental work to a close. The

first word should, therefore, be one of hearty congratulation on the completion of a task which has engaged the patient labor of so many years and been kept on so high a level of scholarly competence. Of general appraisal little need be added here to what has been said in previous issues of this journal, beginning with Professor Van Tyne's notice of the first volume. It has, indeed, been suggested elsewhere that in certain respects the explanatory notes might have been carried further. When one considers, however, the immense labor involved in what has actually been supplied, such criticism can hardly be pressed.

Of the individual members during the interval between the end of the war and the fading out of the "Old Congress", Madison is represented by the largest number of letters, but several of his Virginia associates stand high on the list. Jefferson, after seven years absence from the congressional circle, returned for a few months in 1784, and during that brief period was busy with correspondence as well as with committee service. Other Virginians who figure largely here are Monroe, Arthur and Richard Henry Lee, Grayson, Carrington, and in the later years Henry Lee. In this respect, as in the intrinsic interest of what they wrote, no other state delegation makes so impressive a showing. Aside from the Virginians, the chief Southern letter writers are the North Carolinians, Blount and Williamson.

Next in importance to the Virginia letters are those of the Massachusetts delegates—King, Gerry, and Dane. King's attendance was nearly continuous from January, 1785, until the meeting of the Federal Convention and for a few weeks thereafter. In Volume VIII his letters are more numerous even than those of Madison. Like those of Gerry and Dane, they bring out sharply the sectionalism of the period. Their skeptical attitude toward federal reorganization is fairly expressed in the letters which they addressed to their home state discouraging the suggestion of a constitutional convention. For the Connecticut delegates, the principal new material consists of the letters of William Samuel Johnson, with extracts from his diary and some notes of debates. In comparison with the Virginia and Massachusetts correspondence, that of the middle states' members seems of minor importance. Hamilton, Jay, and Wilson were all members during this period, but not for long. There is, however, interesting matter in the notes and letters of Secretary Charles Thomson.

In view of the published writings of the principal Virginians, much of their correspondence is of course familiar. Nevertheless the new volumes, like their predecessors, contain a large proportion of unpublished letters drawn from widely scattered repositories. Many of these were written by lesser personages, but by no means all. Even when documents have been already available in some form, we are frequently given here fuller or better texts. Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe resorted to cipher in much of their cor-

respondence, and here also the present editor has been helpful. This may be illustrated, for example, by comparing Jefferson's letter of April 25, 1784, to Madison, as printed in Ford's edition of Jefferson's *Writings*, with Burnett's text of the same document.

The general outline of this so-called "Critical Period" will probably not be radically altered by the letters here assembled. Students of the period are prepared for numerous references to certain aspects of congressional business: long intervals in which a quorum could not be got together; the discomforts resulting from the movement of Congress from Philadelphia to Princeton and thence in succession to Annapolis and Trenton, before finally settling down at New York; the breakdown of the requisition system; the failure of successive efforts to amend the Articles of Confederation; the anxiety aroused by the Shays Rebellion. Nevertheless, there are many interesting side lights on the attitude of particular individuals and groups. The trans-Allegheny country bulks largely, with emphasis on Indian troubles, land policy, and the prospect of federal revenue, rather than on principles of territorial government.

Sectional attitudes appear conspicuously on various issues—Jay's negotiations with Spain on commercial relations and the Mississippi question; the discussion of suitable locations for one or two federal capitals; possible dismemberment of the Confederation; and New England misgivings about Western settlements. In August, 1786, Theodore Sedgwick thought the time had come to consider seriously whether "the Eastern and middle states" had anything to gain from their connection with the South (p. 415). Thomson's notes on the Mississippi debate of August 16 show Grayson of Virginia and King of Massachusetts discussing the matter from opposing points of view. The Virginian believed the closing of the Mississippi would "weaken if not destroy the union" by disaffecting the South, whose "dearest interests" would then be sacrificed "to obtain a trivial commercial advantage for their brethren in the East" (p. 428). King, on the other hand, held that the failure of Jay's negotiations with Spain would deprive the Eastern states of "the only advantages which they could expect from the Union". He doubted whether a single man "east of the Delaware" would favor war on such an issue (pp. 429-430). Monroe reported Eastern talk of separation, with a southern boundary for the northern confederacy which might include Pennsylvania or even Maryland. He deprecated disunion but thought it a possibility which must be faced; if division came, Pennsylvania belonged with the South, unless there should be three confederacies (p. 425).

Two concluding reflections may be ventured. Probably no revolutionary assembly of the past has been so thoroughly documented through the correspondence of its members as is the case with the "Old Congress". It is doubtless regrettable that we have no systematic record of the debates, but a

reader of our present-day *Congressional Record* may feel that letters, often more or less confidential, bring us much closer to reality than most oratory. Finally, the success of Burnett's *Letters* suggests that we need something like this for the early congresses under the new Constitution, of whose debates we have such a meager record. Would not the approaching anniversary of the inauguration of our present federal system be an appropriate time for initiating such an enterprise?

Columbia University. EVARTS B. GREENE.

The Presbyterians, 1783-1840: A Collection of Source Materials. By WILLIAM WARREN SWEET. [Religion on the American Frontier, II.] (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1936. Pp. xii, 939. $3.50.)

IN the first volume of the *Journal of the American-Irish Historical Society*, published now nearly forty years ago, it dawned upon a writer that "this republic is the child of Europe and not of England". If he had let it go at that, there could be none to dissent; but he wrote in an early skirmish of the prolonged battle of the races and went on to declare that "that old man of buckram—the Anglo-Saxon—is having a hard time with that new man of straw—the Scotch-Irishman; and when science gets the latter on the dissecting table there won't be much left of him".

The Scotch-Irishman has shown as much ability to survive in the world of historiography as he showed in the eighteenth century while pushing the farmer's frontier up the interior valleys, through the gaps to the West, and down the river courses toward the Mississippi. He brought his church with him. It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that out of his habit of ecclesiastical organization came some of the trends the results of which are built into the American composite of federalism and autonomy. He kept one hand on the pulpit and the other on the polls, contributing much to the three upsets which in turn ousted Britain, displaced Federalism, and enthroned Jackson and the common man.

Professor Sweet, in his life work on the culture of the United States as revealed in its religious habits, has here come to the Presbyterians. The preceding volume in his series, Religion on the American Frontier, printed six years ago, brought the Baptists within reach of reasonably precise historical measurement. He has now, in *The Presbyterians*, grounded another church, and the Scotch-Irish race that bred it, so firmly that what was scorned as "man of straw" stands as of steel and concrete. It is the documents that make the book—760 pages of them, direct from the record books of congregations, presbyteries, and synods. But in an illuminating introduction he assembles the fragments of activity out of which Presbyterianism in America was born. He traces the trail along which, in time and method parallel to politics, religious home rule was geared into the General Assembly of 1789. More than this, his documents prove that this religion was not

an affair of Sundays. The historian of social habits will keep digging in these pages, for congregations and presbyteries believed that this world was related to the next and sought to keep it orderly.

University of California. FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

Wholesale Prices in Philadelphia, 1784-1861. By ANNE BEZANSON, ROBERT D. GRAY, and MIRIAM HUSSEY. [Industrial Research Studies.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1936. Pp. xxiii, 443. $4.00.)

THIS volume should be welcomed not only by students of price history but also by students of general American history. We have here a study which gives one key to the understanding of economic, social, and political behavior in an important American metropolitan center and its hinterland throughout a period of rapid change and growth. In the use of prices as a factor explaining historical change it must be recognized that prices are not self-generating. For individuals and groups in a commercial economy, however, prices are relatively uncontrollable variables, adjustment to which is necessary for survival. The general trend of prices is significant, while the great diversity in price behavior gives for a time advantage or disadvantage to commodities or groups of commodities, which may be of great significance in social and political life as well as in the business of making a living.

This book is the second in a series of studies of Philadelphia prices, and it is a part of the study of prices being made in co-operation with the International Scientific Committee on Price History. Since nearly all the commodities included in *Prices in Colonial Pennsylvania,* the first volume, are also included in this later study, the result is practically a continuous record of price experience from 1720 to 1861. The increased number of commodities for which prices were available for 1784 to 1861 made possible, however, a more comprehensive study for the later period. Prices for this volume were drawn chiefly from prices current in Philadelphia newspapers and from merchants' accounts.

This volume does not contain the basic material, which will be published separately, and it limits its explanations of price changes largely to contemporary comments. Its special contribution lies in its careful compilation of indexes and its analysis of price data. Using the average monthly prices for 1821-1825 as a base, it presents a general price index and three sets of indexes by groups of commodities classified as follows: (1) domestic and imported goods; (2) nine major groups on the basis, chiefly, of the area of economy in which they were produced; and (3) twenty-five groups which roughly parallel the classification followed by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics.

The authors found four major movements in Philadelphia prices from 1784 to 1861: 1784 to 1808, 1808 to 1821, 1821 to 1843, and 1843 to 1861. They analyzed each of these major swings into cyclical, seasonal, and monthly

changes, and they examined them as to the behavior of groups of commodities and individual commodities. Throughout the study the authors continually emphasized the fact that one of the significant characteristics of the price structure was its variability and diversity. From their careful and detailed analysis they have, however, drawn generalizations which are rich in meaning. Because of its tracing of the general pattern of price change and also because of the light it throws on price conditions at any given time and on the price behavior of particular commodities, within the period and place concerned, this excellent study has much to offer students of American history.

Harvard University. HENRIETTA M. LARSON.

The Political Adventures of John Henry: The Record of an International Imbroglio. By Brig.-General E. A. CRUIKSHANK. (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada. 1936. Pp. 206. $3.50.)

A self-seeking Irish adventurer who successfully hoodwinked the authorities in Canada, Britain, and the United States before he fell prey himself to the schemes of an international swindler, John Henry stands forth in this book as a fantastic and sometimes almost unbelievable figure in Anglo-American relations on the eve of the War of 1812. Even a novelist could find little to add to Henry's bizarre and colorful career, and the author, who is no novelist but a matter-of-fact military historian, keeps his hand out of the picture almost entirely. His direct quotations from the documents and other sources take up nearly 150 of his 193 pages of text.

After a brief review of Henry's past (tantalizingly short for those who would know more of his early years in Ireland and the United States) the author introduces us to him in 1806, "a tall, handsome, well-mannered man, apparently some thirty years of age", newly arrived in Montreal. Ostensibly bent on becoming a lawyer, his real goal was a permanent place on the pay roll of the government, as his letters to various officials clearly indicate. His exaggerated and contradictory accounts of his past achievements and potential accomplishments seem to have aroused the suspicions of only one man, Lieutenant Governor Gore of Upper Canada, who frowned on his application for a judgeship in that province. In Lower Canada, where he established his residence, he was accepted without question. Governor Craig was so impressed with his knowledge of affairs below the border that in 1809, when it appeared to Canadians that the Federalists in New England might bolt the Union, he entrusted Henry with the secret mission of securing information on the political situation in the Northern states.

From here on the exploits of Henry, which are probably vaguely familiar to most American and Canadian historians, take on the unmistakable breath of life. With a minimum of explanation and interpretation, General Cruikshank places before us the swiftly changing scenes of an international drama

—one might almost say melodrama. The reports, letters, and memoranda of both plotters and victims provide exciting reading. But though exciting, it is also confusing because Henry changed his "facts" to suit his correspondents and his faithless confederate, De Crillon, did the same, with even greater effect; while the British in Montreal, Quebec, and London and the Americans and foreign diplomats in New York and Washington, all believing that they were the sole possessors of the true facts, drafted their dispatches accordingly. Before the last page is turned, however, the whole tangled skein of intrigue and treachery is clear.

The large number of unpublished documents which General Cruikshank has brought to light in this volume enhances its value for the student of the period; but as his extracts from letters already published (correspondence between Henry and Ryland, Canadian Archives *Report*, 1896) are not always verbally identical with the secondary source, one wonders who is right. The nine illustrations of letters in the handwriting of Henry, De Crillon, Monroe, and Gerry add to the sense of reality created by the numerous quotations.

Public Archives of Nova Scotia. J. S. MARTELL.

Henry Harmon Spalding, Pioneer of Old Oregon. By CLIFFORD MERRILL DRURY. (Caldwell: Caxton Printers. 1936. Pp. 438. $3.00.)

THIS volume, written by the pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Moscow, Idaho, supersedes all other accounts of the life of Henry Harmon Spalding. Spalding was an original member of the Oregon Mission of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. He and Dr. Marcus Whitman, accompanied by their wives and by W. H. Gray, went to the Pacific Northwest in 1836 as missionaries to the Indians. A re-enforcement arrived in 1838. Subsequently internal dissension developed, some members of the mission withdrew, and the Board issued an order recalling Spalding. But this order was rescinded, and Spalding continued his work until the mission was broken up by the Whitman Massacre in 1847.

Much of the writing on this mission has been inspired by the controversy as to whether Whitman's ride to the East in 1842 was made primarily to "save Oregon". Happily the researches of Bourne and Marshall have long since exploded the myth that Whitman saved Oregon—a myth that Spalding did much to propagate—and opened the way for some historian to treat the Oregon Mission of the American Board as a phase of a westward missionary advance.

Dr. Drury, however, has not written the history of a movement. He has conceived his project somewhat narrowly. He has paid little attention to the broad stream of religious tendency that carried missionaries to the Oregon field. But he has accomplished the task he set for himself. He has explored the early life of Spalding and discovered new material that helps to explain Spalding's later conduct. Here he has made an important contribution. He

has also carefully appraised Spalding as a missionary and as a pioneer and has shown that the man, despite many shortcomings, was not a mere trouble-maker but was the most successful of the Oregon missionaries of the American Board. Also, he credits him, as a pioneer, with doing several important "first things" in Idaho. As a consequence of this study, Spalding appears in a new light, and a clearer understanding of what he achieved in the face of real handicaps should call forth a better appreciation of the man than has heretofore generally obtained. Spalding was undoubtedly a difficult person, but his missionary associates did not embody perfection.

Although this book as a whole is accurate, it is not in every respect definitive. Some students will question the account of the origins of the "mission" of the Oregon Indians to St. Louis in 1831. The author incorrectly asserts that George Simpson "conceived the idea" of taking some Oregon Indian boys to the Red River Mission School in 1825 (p. 77). The question of Spalding's integrity in the Dart affair is not completely cleared up—perhaps it can't be. A few minor errors require notice. Adoniram Judson did not return with Luther Rice from India (p. 33). The denominational support of the American Board in its early years is incorrectly portrayed (p. 33). It is misleading to call Artemas Bullard the "agent of the newly organized Foreign Mission Society of the Presbyterian Church" (p. 60); Bullard was the Western Agent of the American Board and corresponding secretary of a society formed in 1833 as an auxiliary to the American Board.

But the minor errors detract little from a book that, as a whole, deserves commendation. The list of manuscripts the author consulted is impressive, and the catalogue of Spalding letters he compiled is useful. A few Spalding letters in the library of the Chicago Theological Seminary have been overlooked. The bibliography of printed materials is not exhaustive. The book is illustrated, indexed, and well printed.

Bucknell University. J. Orin Oliphant.

The Canadian Commercial Revolution, 1845-1851. By Gilbert Norman Tucker, Assistant Professor of History in Yale University. [Yale Historical Publications Studies.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1936. Pp. 258. $3.00.)

Despite the promise implied in the title, one encounters no revolution in Canadian commerce in the pages of Dr. Tucker's book. The reason becomes obvious in the concluding chapter, where it is explained that there was no revolution. Indeed the absence of any considerable reaction clearly traceable to the sudden and radical changes then taking place in imperial economic policy comes near to being the thesis of this study, which, we are told, began as a Cambridge doctoral dissertation. This seemingly startling conclusion is not really new. It was forcefully, if briefly, developed by D. L. Burn in an article, to which Dr. Tucker refers, published in 1928 in the *Cambridge*

Historical Journal. Dr. Tucker has done a service in his elaboration of this article and in giving its challenging conclusion a wider publicity.

The outstanding acts of the British parliament which might have been expected to have had a marked effect on Canada's external trade in this period were the increase of the preference for wheat and wheat flour from Canada in 1843, the abolition of this preference by the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, and the repeal of the Navigation Acts in 1849. If the author's thesis is merely that British policy oscillated so rapidly that Canadian commercial habits failed to keep pace, making it impossible for the economic historian, considering the inadequacy of his data, to isolate statistically the effects of each successive change, he has clearly proved his point. If, on the other hand, his aim was to show that the external trade of the province was definitely unresponsive to changes in British policy, we regard his conclusion as much more doubtful. While the short-lived Canadian depression, reaching its nadir in 1848, may be explained as the effect of world trade conditions without reference to British policy, the permanent loss in this period of the monopoly hitherto enjoyed by the St. Lawrence waterway in the trade of Upper Canada with Great Britain can hardly be so treated. However difficult it may be to segregate the effect of the British abolition of grain preferences in 1846 from the synchronous abolition by the United States Congress of customs duties on Canadian produce for Great Britain passing through the United States, it is obvious that their combined effects were sufficient to break the St. Lawrence monopoly, and to do it in the face of enormously improved canal facilities on that route. Here and there Dr. Tucker toys with the more philosophic aspect of his theme, suggesting that in things commercial legislators do not matter. This would seem to be doctrine rather than thesis.

In growing out of a dissertation into a book Dr. Tucker's study has seemed to gain in substance while losing in form. The fungoid character of a considerable portion of the book becomes apparent on second reading. The distraction of the reader is increased by the fact that the accretions are among the most interesting parts of the book. It is the reviewer's opinion that had chapters III, V, and VI been well integrated, most of the other seven chapters might advantageously have been made into separate articles, except chapter VIII, which has already been one.

Of the usual slips of mind and pen there are surprisingly few, but one can hardly fail to ask why W. H. Merritt is found among the "Loyalists" when it is noted that he was born in New York State in 1793 of parents who came to Upper Canada in 1796. The book bears ample evidence of wide reading in the primary sources of the period, both printed and manuscript. It is written in clear and often sprightly style. It is provocative in the good as well as in the bad sense. Its economic judgments are challenging and frequently show maturity of thought and keenness of penetration. There is

both an index and a bibliography, although neither is particularly useful. There is a clear and very serviceable map.

London. W. Menzies Whitelaw.

Marching with the Army of the West, 1846-1848. By Abraham Robinson Johnston, Marcellus Ball Edwards, Philip Gooch Ferguson. Edited by Ralph P. Bieber. [The Southwest Historical Series.] (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1936. Pp. 368. $6.00.)

There is a solid satisfaction in reading the unsophisticated journals of these soldiers of Kearny and Doniphan, who describe the bloodless conquest of Santa Fe and the fantastic expedition against Chihuahua. They relate tangible facts from first-hand experience, yet with a verve and sense of humor that makes their narratives extremely pleasant reading. The contribution which these three journals make to the history of the Southwest lies not in describing military campaigns but in delineating the mood of reckless conquest and glory that swept over the frontier states, particularly Missouri, at the outbreak of the Mexican War. Volunteering was immensely popular in these regions, accompanied by the fluttering of white handkerchiefs from the hands of Missouri ladies, the quaffing of cool mint juleps, and the grandiloquent notices of the press. But the Army of the West that set out on a glorious holiday adventure soon denounced in bitter and profane terms the mismanagement of the hastily organized expedition—half rations for the men, long delays in receiving their pay, lack of proper medicines and surgical care, not to mention the mosquitoes, the suffering from lack of water, the long marches and hardships of travel. As the army approached Santa Fe, only five rounds of ammunition remained for each man, a stupidity that caused Edwards to remark, "It is a singular way to invade a country without either ammunition or provisions."

Nevertheless, the Army of the West was a robust body of fighting men despite their tattered and nondescript clothes, their profane language, and their defiance of discipline. These wild Missouri boys were as full of fight as gamecocks and as democratic an army as ever assembled. The journals are rich in intimate pictures of these border characters, their crude and exaggerated humor—"there is something in the atmosphere of the plains that prompts men to lie", noted Lieutenant Johnston—their ability to adapt themselves to new conditions or meet emergencies. Even their lack of morality is not omitted from the candid journals. When Price's army was leaving Chihuahua, it was accompanied by one hundred and fifty Mexican women following their lovers until orders were given that they should be sent back. No wonder Ferguson queried in his journal, "Is there no virtue extant?"

This fourth volume of the Southwest Historical Series maintains the high level of scholarship in editing that has marked the previous volumes. Pro-

fessor Bieber has collected and published in this series original manuscript material that will be of permanent value to the students of the American frontier and of American military history. His introductions to each volume serve to supplement the narrative from other sources and present essential facts but not to interpret or draw conclusions. The critic of "Manifest Destiny" will note the close connection between the Army of the West and the Santa Fe and Chihuahua traders. Indeed, the four hundred wagons of the American traders played an important role in the victory of Sacramento.

Lafayette College. CLEMENT EATON.

The Cattlemen's Frontier: A Record of the Trans-Mississippi Cattle Industry from Oxen Trains to Pooling Companies, 1850-1890. By LOUIS PELZER, Professor of History, University of Iowa. (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1936. Pp. 351. $6.00.)

THIS volume deals primarily with the more important economic aspects of the cattle kingdom that existed to the west of the agricultural frontier during the period indicated in the title. The earliest cattle on the plains were the oxen of the freight teams in the days preceding the Union Pacific. But with the start of the Texas drive, oxen employed for their work value became steers prized for their weight as beef. Perhaps the most picturesque feature of the Texas trails were the cow towns at their northern ends. It took active advertising and salesmanship to develop a small railroad stop into the favorite trading center of Texan sellers and northern buyers. Abilene and then Dodge City and Ogallala were the most successful until local fencing and sterner morals restricted the free ranging of stock and the hilarity of cowboys.

By the end of the seventies stockmen had taken possession of the old Indian country above the North Platte. Cattle was king from Texas to Alberta, and the cattle barons ruled the kingdom. It is with their rule and misrule that the central portion of this study is concerned—not the social or long-range economic consequences of their domination, but the business management and lack of foresight that ended in their own financial disaster in 1887. Against obvious dangers they took adequate precautions, regulating their industry from within by means of cattle pools and associations, of which the powerful Wyoming Stock Growers' Association exercised governmental functions delegated to it by the territorial legislature. The conduct of round-ups, disposal of mavericks, restriction of ranges, inspection of brands on out-bound cattle shipments, detection and arrest of criminals, and lobbying were all part of their business. These regulating groups, however, were of little use in preventing the wholesale failures that came in 1887. Under the boom psychology, overstocking of the ranges and overcapitalization became the rule. In answer to falling beef prices, more steers were bought to fatten—at a loss. Worst of all, a large proportion of the herds were owned by specu-

lative Eastern and foreign investors and operated extravagantly and at times dishonestly by managers on the range. Dr. Pelzer has avoided the easy mistake of laying all blame for the 1887 crash on the bitter February blizzard that took a toll of from twenty to ninety per cent among the northern herds, whose steers, lean from poor grazing on sadly overstocked ranges, lacked stamina to withstand the storm. The financial structures of the cattle companies would have soon toppled anyway, even with the mildest weather.

In their heyday the cattle kings were true sovereigns. Flagrant intimidation by armed cowboys and wholesale appropriation of public land by illegal fencing and water diversion kept the small settler back for a while, with much resultant bitterness of feeling. But the little man, with the law and perseverance on his side, could not be successfully denied. The monopoly of the cattle industry over the plains was broken. The author queries the wisdom of the small homestead policy for this semi-arid region, but unlike most cattle protagonists he does not denounce it. Dust, drought, floods are now pointed to as the price we pay for the overextension of our farm area; on the other hand "the thousands of plain settler folk constituted a greater asset than the non-resident shareholders of cattle companies".

The material for this study has been gathered widely from county newspapers, trade journals, company records, government reports, journals of travelers, and reminiscences of cattlemen. Some of the chapters having appeared before the publication of this volume, the arrangement of the material lacks a certain amount of unity. There has been little assembling of data to give a compact statistical view of the industry. Dr. Pelzer has not attempted to cover all phases of the range cattle business, as, for example, the improvement of stock by breeding, the development of hay cutting for winter feed, and other factors the full effect of which has fallen in the period since 1890. He has recorded, however, by means of numerous examples of business transactions, the fundamental economic processes through which this Western industry developed and has given us a clear picture of the fallacies of the boom period and a sound analysis of the economic causes of its termination.

Bethel, Conn. WALCOTT WATSON.

Abraham Lincoln Association Papers, 1936. (Springfield: Abraham Lincoln Association. 1937. Pp. 82.)

Lincoln, 1847-1853: Being the Day-by-Day Activities of Abraham Lincoln from January 1, 1847, to December 31, 1853. By BENJAMIN P. THOMAS. (*Ibid.* 1936. Pp. lx, 388. $3.75.)

Cheever, Lincoln, and the Causes of the Civil War. By GEORGE I. ROCKWOOD. (Worcester: privately printed. 1936. Pp. 83.)

THESE three books, which are only a fraction of the current Lincoln output, illustrate the unceasing flow of Lincolniana. The 1936 volume of

Abraham Linclon Association Papers has the handsome format and scholarly content for which this series is well known. Rarely does an association present its annual papers in such an attractive form. There is a pithy introduction by Logan Hay followed by two papers: a solid formal address by Professor A. C. McLaughlin on "Lincoln, the Constitution and Democracy", and a shorter after-dinner speech by Professor T. V. Smith in which, as the title indicates, "A Philosopher Looks at Lincoln". Professor McLaughlin holds that, despite arbitrary wartime action, Lincoln was a profound "constitutionalist" and that "his dominating impulse was to protect . . . the republic and not to allow the real America to destroy itself" (p. 29).

Of the remaining two books the volume by Thomas is a direct contribution to the Lincoln theme, while Mr. Rockwood's essay is devoted to a New York preacher whose abolitionist activities have relation to Lincoln only in the Harriett Beecher Stowe sense. Thomas's book is to be used with its companion volume by Paul M. Angle (*Lincoln, 1854-1861,* 1933). With a high degree of success Dr. Thomas has accomplished the ambitious task of giving Lincoln's whereabouts so far as known on each of the thousands of days mentioned. For each day there is a rigidly limited space (enough for seventy words) within which one finds either a blank, if information is lacking, or a compact statement of where Lincoln was and what he did, followed by a citation of sources. The blanks are fewer than might be expected, and some of these may yet be filled as research proceeds. The book is more than a compilation. The introduction gives a competent biographical segment for the period covered, and the elaborate search in newspapers, original court records, diaries, and many other sources has produced a valuable reference guide, besides having actually brought to light new information.

Mr. Rockwood writes of a New York City clergyman, George Barrell Cheever, born in 1807, whose pulpit on Union Square served as a sounding board for abolitionist doctrines, while his writings gave learned expression to his "holy scorn" of slavery. The thesis of the book is that the heat over slavery, especially by way of religious emotionalism, produced not only the Civil War but also Lincoln's emancipation policy, whose consummation merely awaited the "appearance" of "military necessity". Though Cheever is the biographical theme, a biography is not attempted, in spite of the fact that there exists a voluminous mass of Cheever correspondence. What this correspondence may be is suggested by a "hitherto unpublished letter" from William Lloyd Garrison to Cheever, September 9, 1861, in which one glimpses the technique of wartime abolitionist propaganda. Many, of course, will question the author's dictum that Lincoln's election resulted from abolition preaching and that the Northern people fought to suppress slavery as a sin and only incidentally to save the Union.

University of Illinois. J. G. Randall.

Hamilton Fish: The Inner History of the Grant Administration. By ALLAN NEVINS. With an Introduction by John Bassett Moore. (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. 1936. Pp. xxi, 932. $5.00.)

THE writing of this volume offered a unique opportunity. A biography of Fish had long been awaited, and an unusual body of papers, including the elaborate Fish diary, was available to the biographer. The importance of the book derives in part from this favorable opportunity, but even more from the author's talent for readableness, his wide familiarity with the period, and his skillful use of materials. The diary, not as devoid of color as has been supposed, is one of the most complete of personal journals (about a million words for the years 1869-1877); in addition, there are the voluminous Fish papers, a notable collection of letter books and letters received.

The closeness of Fish to the Revolution appears in the person of his father, Nicholas Fish, a man of substance and importance who fought beside Washington and Lafayette and who became a vigorous Federalist and friend of Alexander Hamilton. On the mother's side were the Stuyvesants; connection with the Keans and Livingstons came by marriage. The result, in the person of Hamilton Fish, was a combination of social position, Knickerbocker pride, and Federalist-Whig conservatism. Support of vested interests, detestation of Democrats and locofocos, and prominent identification with the Episcopal Church, Columbia College, and the Society of the Cincinnati, united to produce a sturdy New Yorker who would cherish an elder Americanism, befriend property, and resist social change, yet withal a man of tact and courtesy, capable of sound judgments and incapable of fanatical excess. He would never be a reformer or even a liberal; on the other hand, never could he tolerate the political buccaneer. His public service prior to 1868 (as congressman, governor, and senator) was of less formative significance than the aristocratic nature of his clients, the close association with Clay and Webster, and the broadening effect of European travel. His Republicanism seemed as inevitable as his prominence among the city's elite; yet he came to the party as a moderate and as one who wistfully lamented the Whig demise.

To write fully of Fish as diplomat would be to treat many diverse subjects—Central America, the Danish islands, the Fenians, China, Russia, *et cetera;* instead of this, Professor Nevins gives prominence only to the three most important fields, which were Santo Domingo, Cuba, and Great Britain. On the Dominican question Fish went along reluctantly with the President though not without a healthy disdain for annexationist intrigue. As to Cuba, he had a problem of major difficulty in the resistance to interventionist schemes and, in the *Virginius* affair, the avoidance of war with Spain. In the notable settlement of the *Alabama* claims with Great Britain Fish kept the guiding hand, and here he reached both his highest achievement and the greatest pride of his life. When reading of the obstacles that beset diplomacy

in this field one may well marvel that international dealings ever succeed. The tale involves a sorry mixture of arrogance, lion-baiting, newspaper excess, peevish intransigence in the Senate's foreign relations head (Sumner), insubordination in the American minister at London (Motley), nationalist emotion which demanded a face-saving "victory", demands for the surrender of all Canada (which, by the way, some English leaders were willing to consider), and, on the part of the President, ignorance of international relations combined with a tendency toward erratic appointments and a reluctance to give the secretary a free hand. Despite these obstacles success did come; and, though fortune caused the factors to snap into place "like tumblers in a gigantic combination-lock" (p. 423), yet the success was very largely that of Fish. It was he who made Washington the center of negotiation, joined the *Alabama* question with other pending disputes, obtained a friendly expression of regret, resisted the fantastic "indirect claims", which seemed to imply that Britain was responsible for the whole Civil War, and suggested Charles Francis Adams as American arbitrator. In reading of this postwar struggle over England's neutrality policy one is reminded that, contrary to a widespread tradition, it was the Confederacy, not the United States, that suffered severe disappointment at London.

Of equal importance with the *Alabama* question, though it comes late in the book, is Professor Nevins's treatment of internal affairs under Grant, to which Fish in the second term (1873-1877) devoted much more attention than during the first. Disgusted at the President's confidence in his false friends, and thoroughly shocked at such influences as those of Babcock, McDonald, Casey, Gould, and Fisk, the Secretary of State, having been pathetically eager to resign about 1871 and having repeatedly pressed Grant to accept his resignation, decided to remain. He thus contributed somewhat of substance and respectability to an administration degraded by backstairs intrigue, partisanship, abuse, and amazing corruption. Fish's "ruling emotion" (p. 647) was anger at those who perpetrated the scandals; Grant's was anger at their exposure. Through all this domestic and international story there ran the steadying counsel of Fish; and in the account before us there runs in every chapter the contribution of the Fish record (*vide*, for example, new material on Grant's alleged "packing" of the Supreme Court, pp. 306 ff.). Nor have other sources been neglected. The Public Record Office in London, the diplomatic archives of the United States, and the voluminous published documents have been extensively used.

One leaves the book with a sense of the complexity and the present-day bearings of the Grant era and with the feeling that even in the crowded field of Anglo-American relations significant contributions are yet possible. Too often is diplomatic history written from official documents; too seldom are personal data behind the public record adequately explored. It is in this latter sense that Professor Nevins makes his contribution to the history of inter-

national relations, though it should be added that he was primarily writing a life of Fish, together with a most significant inner account of the Grant administration. Despite the heavy subject matter the style dispels dullness and even rises to brilliance in its social descriptions (*e.g.*, ch. XXIV on "Potomac Backgrounds") and its thumbnail characterizations (*e.g.*, of Grant, pp. 131 ff., and of Belknap, p. 806). The author, while making suggestions to monograph writers, intends his book "for the general reader and ordinary student". It is to be hoped that it will have a wide enough reading to diminish popular ignorance in the field covered.

University of Illinois. J. G. RANDALL.

The Second United Order among the Mormons. By EDWARD J. ALLEN. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1936. Pp. 148. $2.25.)

THE founder of Mormonism was liberally infected with the communistic ideas current in his generation, and soon after the Church was organized, the Prophet proclaimed a divine revelation commanding the Saints to associate themselves in the communistic Order of Enoch. The experiment was snuffed out in Missouri by the enforced expulsion of the Saints; in Ohio its feeble breath of life flickered out in the opening throes of the panic of 1837.

Four decades later Brigham Young, now at the height of his power, thought to avert the threatened loss of temporal power to the Church hierarchy by drawing the Saints into a modified and somewhat feeble imitation of the Order of Enoch as instituted by Joseph Smith. The present volume narrates the short life and utter failure of this modified essay at communism. Not all the power of God, operating through his mouthpiece Joseph in the thirties, nor of Brigham Young, operating as his own mouthpiece in the seventies, could force the Saints into the communistic pattern of life.

Considered simply as a study of the Utah experiment of the seventies, the book is thorough and, apparently, definitive. The author, an adherent of the Utah faction of Mormonism, disposes of all rival factions by the simple procedure of ignoring their existence. For example, "Brigham Young was now [following the killing of Joseph Smith in 1844] recognized as the new leader of the Mormons and continued to be their leader in temporal and spiritual affairs until his death" (p. 22). Thereby he falls into an error which needlessly imperils the character, otherwise scholarly, of his study. Even the title is erroneous, for it belongs not to the Utah experiment of Brigham Young but rather to the Order of Enoch, instituted by James J. Strang in Wisconsin thirty years earlier. Strang's essay at communism, like Smith's before and Young's after it, met with complete failure and early abandonment.

A century has passed since the failure of Joseph's Order and over half a century since the collapse of Brigham's, yet still (p. 128) "the Church does not concede defeat of the Order . . . but contends that God's plan is too

perfect for the people. They are unprepared because they are not one in the spirit of the Gospel." This attitude is similar to that of an ardent contemporary English communist, as expressed in recent conversation with the reviewer. Challenged to point out a single historical illustration of the successful working of a society based on the principles he was expounding, he readily conceded that there is none; but he added, "When we get control we will enforce conformity to them." *Verbum sat.*

Detroit Public Library. M. M. QUAIFE.

The Nationalization of Business, 1878-1898. By IDA M. TARBELL. [A History of American Life, Volume IX.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1936. Pp. xvi, 313. $4.00.)

IN their foreword the editors of this historical series assert:

> No other book on the subject offers so clear a picture of the sweep of American economic development—its freshness, its vitality, its lack of moral scruple—as Miss Tarbell's. But she is not content to treat this transformation as an impersonal process, with the human factors submerged in a spate of dreary statistics. Nearly every page bears the imprint of the personalities of the men who gave form and direction to the seismic economic forces that were remaking society. Many a graphic pen portrait restores to historical memory the names of persons who, had they employed their talents in politics, would long since have received their just dues at the hands of posterity.

Upon reading this statement it was with some misgivings that the reviewer began his reading of this latest work by an octogenarian author, but having finished it he is forced to admit that the above statement is not exaggeration but simple fact. Miss Tarbell reviews in broad sweeping lines the final steps of the westward and southern migrations of the population with its appropriation and settlement of the public lands; the consolidation of the means of communication through the telegraph and the telephone; the discoveries that led to the harnessing of elecricity in the satisfaction of the wants of man; the rise of the industrial trust; the growth of the nation-wide network of railways and the consolidation of lines into the great railway systems; the clashing of the economic philosophies of *laissez faire* and regulation, of wealth and poverty; the rise of a class consciousness among the farmers and laborers, reflected in the rise of the grange and the labor union, under the influence of the socialistic and even anarchistic theories of the day; the protective tariff and its effects upon industry; the rise and spread of the antimonopoly movement; the panic of 1893 and the monetary controversies that arose out of it.

The sources that have been used and are cited are largely contemporary with the period under discussion, such as public documents, current newspapers and periodicals, which have been supplemented with references from

biographies of the many men in all walks of life who guided the economic and political life of the nation, and here and there treatises on special economic subjects. These many sources have been treated separately in a critical bibliography appended to the text.

On the whole, this is not a work that will attract the attention of the scholar of American economic history, for it is scarcely more than an outline of the stirring and momentous events that transpired during the two decades under review and does not purport to be a complete treatment. Some important features of our national life have been overlooked or merely mentioned, such, for example, as the rise of financial institutions and insurance and the decline of the merchant marine. But far more important than these omissions is the host of minor economic activities that constitute the business life of the mercantile classes. While Wall Street thus receives undue attention, "Main Street" is entirely neglected; while much is made of the few hundred thousand laborers who have become members of unions, little thought is given to the millions that cannot be induced to join. In a closing chapter summarizing briefly the results of the economic changes that have taken place, Miss Tarbell does not refrain from pointing to the net gains in social well-being that have accrued on the assets side of the nation's balance sheet, and throughout the work there is a welcome absence of the condemnation of American institutions because they are American that has become so much a habit of the present day. It is this feature of the work that, despite its other shortcomings, makes it well adapted as a supplement to the ordinary textbooks on American economic history that serve to introduce the subject to the student. No doubt he will be impressed by the peculiar similarity of the attack upon existing institutions of the decade of the 1890's and the years since 1928, for there he will find the attacks upon intrenched capital symbolized by Wall Street, advocates of monetary reform, a great wave of disastrous strikes, etc., and yet recovery despite the absence of a New Deal.

Columbia University. A. H. Stockder.

Expansionists of 1898: The Acquisition of Hawaii and the Spanish Islands. [The Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History, 1936, The Walter Hines Page School of International Relations.] By Julius W. Pratt. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1936. Pp. viii, 393. $3.00.)

Professor Pratt purposes "to trace the rise and development in the United States of the movement for overseas expansion" from the eighties to the ratification of the treaty with Spain in February, 1899. After a brief, suggestive chapter on ideological background, he gives a detailed account of the Hawaiian revolution and annexation movement of 1893. This is by far the best treatment of the subject that has yet appeared. It throws significant new light on the complicity of the Harrison administration and reveals that the motive behind the *coup* of the white oligarchy was not so much greed

for American sugar bounties as a desire to secure both life and property against a capricious Polynesian dynasty. Passing rapidly on to the outbreak of hostilities with Spain, the author interrupts his narrative with two revealing essays on the attitude of business and the church toward the war. He shows that business bitterly opposed the conflict but willingly grasped its spoils, particularly the Philippines, which were regarded as an indispensable vestibule to the Far Eastern trade then being jeopardized by the vivisection of China. The church generally favored the war on humanitarian grounds and welcomed the little brown brother as a worthy object of missionary zeal. In searching through scores of business and religious journals Professor Pratt sets a high standard of thoroughness for those who appreciate the importance of public opinion in a study of our foreign policy. One can only wish that he had found it possible to analyze in the same exhaustive fashion the views of labor and other special groups. A final chapter deals with the annexation of Hawaii and the Philippines.

The author undoubtedly had his reasons for not exploring the years from 1894 to 1897 with the same illuminating thoroughness that he devoted to 1893 and 1898. The reviewer suspects, however, that a careful examination of the newspaper sources for this period would reveal that the agitation for the annexation of Cuba before 1898 was somewhat more formidable than Professor Pratt now thinks; that Hawaii and expansion did play something of a role, albeit a minor one, in the campaign of 1896; that there were some who welcomed a war for free Cuba as an antidote for free silver; and that the Venezuela blow-up of 1895-1896 did much to implant large ideas in the American mind. The excellent chapters on Hawaii, which occupy about three fifths of the book, are so disproportionately full as to take needed space from the no less important Spanish islands. Thus we have twelve pages on the much-mooted morals of Queen Liliuokalani (she is given a clean bill of health) and thirteen on the momentous debate in Congress on the treaty of 1898. Subsequent researches will probably not change materially the conclusions on Hawaii, but it is to be noted that the author used a broken file of only one Hololulu newspaper and not altogether complete transcripts and photostats of the original documents in the Archives of Hawaii.

Professor Pratt does not mention several matters which are rather generally, though perhaps erroneously, regarded as significant forces behind the expansion movement of the nineties. What was the influence of the heightened nationalism following the various centennial celebrations; of the urge for new outlets upon the completion of reconstruction and the closing of the alleged frontier safety valve; of the jingoism of a younger generation (Theodore Roosevelt's) that had never known a war of its own; of the competitive pyrotechnics of Hearst and Pulitzer; of the disquieting effect of the tense international atmosphere; and of the ennui resulting from a drab everyday life and threadbare political issues? It is possible that the author found these

subjects unimportant or, what is more likely, so elusive as to defy scientific analysis. However that may be, he has produced a carefully documented, accurate, judicious, and unusually well-written monograph. The *Expansionists of 1898* will take a worthy place beside Professor Pratt's already well-received *Expansionists of 1812*.

Stanford University. THOMAS A. BAILEY.

Why We went to War. By NEWTON D. BAKER, Secretary of War, 1916-1921. [Council on Foreign Relations.] (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1936. Pp. vi, 199. $1.50.)

IT would appear that Mr. Baker undertook the task of writing this monograph at the request of the Council on Foreign Relations. He regarded this assignment so seriously that he spent "practically all" the "leisure" of a busy year in attempting to read "all that has been published by our State Department and by the foreign offices of other governments and much of the discussion of these subjects by scholars and publicists". As a result of this brief and none too intensive research into the reasons why America went to war in 1917, Mr. Baker has produced a volume that his publishers confidently assert will be the "definitive study of matters long in controversy". This is a strong claim for a weak book.

As one glances through this slender volume it is apparent that Mr. Baker has based his conclusions upon a mere handful of books, some of which are of doubtful value. His opportunities for study have been unusually restricted. It is unfortunate that he has been unable to examine pertinent materials in certain manuscript collections which would have afforded him a clearer vision of the realities of the international situation during the years from 1914 to 1917. There is little doubt that even a hasty survey of the private papers of Secretaries Bryan and Lansing would have given him a more adequate comprehension of the problems that faced the American government in that period in which diplomacy sought vainly to find a path to peace. It is also possible that the correspondence of Colonel House would have added a slight degree of certitude to some of his paragraphs.

Mr. Baker's bibliography of the books he has examined during his year of research reveals the reasons why his horizon is so limited. Excluding official documents, this list of books includes only some twenty titles, and his omissions are significant. He has neglected to use the letters and memoirs of most of the men who stood close to the President—Bryan, McAdoo, Houston, Redfield, Gregory, Lane, and Tumulty. His other omissions are equally surprising. In dealing with such a complicated question as submarine warfare he failed to consult the valuable monographs of Admirals Spindler, Michelsen, and Scheer; the useful studies by Adolphe Laurens and Captain Gayer; and the *Memoirs* of Tirpitz. Even the obvious volume by R. H. Gibson and Maurice Prendergast appears to be unknown to the

author. In connection with submarine warfare the whole question of armed merchantmen is of fundamental importance. But Mr. Baker passes over this topic with the same blithe unconcern that he exhibits in his failure to discuss or even mention the House-Grey Agreement of February 22, 1916.

One could forgive Mr. Baker for some of these mistakes of omission, but it is difficult to see any excuse for repeated inaccuracies of detail. A typical example of his weakness in this regard is his faulty treatment of the *Lusitania* incident. Mr. Baker should have known that Captain Turner disobeyed his instructions and did not "zigzag" his ship as he approached the Irish coast, and that of the 1959 persons on board the *Lusitania,* 1198, not 1195 were lost. There were 197 Americans who took passage on the *Lusitania* (not 159), and 128 of them (not 124) lost their lives.

A careful study of Mr. Baker's inadequate volume shows that the claim which the publishers make for it is wholly unwarranted.

Washington, D. C. CHARLES C. TANSILL.

NOTICES OF OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

GENERAL HISTORY

Maitland: Selected Essays. Edited by H. D. HAZELTINE, G. LAPSLEY, P. H. WINFIELD. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan Company, 1936, pp. ix, 264, $3.65.) Maitland's *Collected Papers* was published in three volumes in 1911. Two or three years ago the Cambridge University Press considered bringing out a new edition which would incorporate the results of later research on the subjects with which the papers deal but decided against it for financial reasons. A mere reprint, on the other hand, did not seem advisable. The course finally agreed upon was to edit some but not all of the papers—such of them as seemed most likely to be useful to students of law, history, and politics—and publish them in one volume and to include in this Maitland's great Introduction to *Memoranda de Parliamento,* published in the Rolls Series in 1893 but not comprised in the *Collected Papers.* The result is a collection of seven selected essays: Introduction to *Memoranda de Parliamento,* The Corporation Sole, The Crown as Corporation, The Unincorporate Body, Trust and Corporation, Moral Personality and Legal Personality, and The Body Politic. The editors have added to Maitland's footnotes and supplied new ones of their own in order to bring the text abreast of recent scholarship, and in the case of the Introduction to *Memoranda de Parliamento* Mr. Lapsley has contributed a brief editorial note and a selected bibliography. The reader, or rereader, of these essays is not likely to dissent from the editors' opinion of Maitland: "Nothing that he wrote can ever be tarnished by time in the matchless attraction of his style or in the brilliant scholarship and originality of thought which he brought to bear upon every topic that he handled."

La Réforme et les guerres de religion. By JOSÈPHE CHARTROU-CHARBONNEL. [Collection Armand Colin.] (Paris, Armand Colin, 1936, pp. 222, 10 fr. 50.) This little book is a concise synthesis of the period and the movement of the Reformation, stressing ideas and ruling personalities more than events and political and social conditions. The author is right in devoting more attention to Calvinism than to Lutheranism, but the distribution of space seems out of proportion. France comes in for the lion's share. Seven pages for the Reformation and the religious wars in the Low Countries and ten for England between 1509 and 1688 seem a meager allotment. But if Madame Chartrou-Charbonnel robs Protestantism of a just amount of space, she is no less abstemious with regard to Catholicism, for the Counter Reformation is disposed of in less than three pages. In compensation the intellectual and literary history of the period is generously treated. The bibliography includes only writings by French authors, which seems a serious limitation, considering that there is no good French work on the history of the Reformation in Germany except the unfinished work of Imbart de la Tour, only one on the English Reformation, and none in French upon the history of the Reformation in the Netherlands. Even some of the best books upon the reformation and the religious wars in France by French authors have not been used. The publisher's printed slip inserted for the convenience of hasty reviewers describes this book as "une magnifique fresque". We will let it go at that. JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON.

Repertorium der diplomatischen Vertreter aller Länder seit dem Westfälischen Frieden, 1648. Edited, with the assistance of Walther Latzke, by Ludwig Bittner and Lothar Gross. Volume I, *1648-1715*. (Oldenburg i. O., Gerhard Stalling, 1936, pp. xxx, 756, 52 M.) This repertory of the diplomatic representatives of all countries since the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 is a compilation which will be of lasting benefit to students in many fields. This first volume comes down to 1715, and others are to follow. The work is the result of much scholarly collaboration which is fully described in the extensive foreword of the editors, Ludwig Bittner and Lothar Gross. Walther Latzke co-ordinated the contributions of sixty-seven collaborators in thirteen different countries. Publication was assisted by the Austrian *Bundesregierung*, the German *Forschungsgemeinschaft*, and the Rockefeller Foundation. The work is written in German, but the name of each country is given with its variations in German, English, French, Italian, and Spanish, both in the index and in the body of the text at the head of the sections dealing with each state. For purposes of alphabetical arrangement the German name is used. The scheme of arrangement is to list under each country alphabetically the names of the other countries to which it accredited representatives whether on special or resident missions. Thus under England, one finds Algier, Bayern, Brandenburg-Preussen, etc. Under each of these countries the names of the representatives appear in chronological order. Dates of arrival and departure and change of rank, if any, are given. At the end there is an index by names of persons and countries. It covers 191 pages and was prepared by Walther Latzke. Obviously it is an essential part of such a reference volume. As the editors state, the arrangement of the index makes it possible even for those who do not know German to use the book with little difficulty. There is also a bibliography of archival and secondary sources.

Philip C. Jessup.

Policies and Opinions at Paris, 1919: Wilsonian Diplomacy, the Versailles Peace, and French Public Opinion. By George Bernard Noble. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1935, pp. x, 465, $3.50.) This book is primarily a detailed study of French opinion on the more important aspects of the peace settlement with Germany in 1919, but it is also a competent short history of the actual events toward which the opinion was directed. The history of the negotiations is written in terms of issues important to France, and these are skillfully summarized. At the Conference Professor Noble prepared for the American Delegation the daily *Current Intelligence Summaries* of the French press, now in the Hoover War Library. In the present work the leading French journals of 1918-1919 are classified according to their influence and political alignment. From them, and also from some of the parliamentary debates, the author has selected a wide range of typical sentences and phrases from which he has built up cumulative and impressive evidence of French public opinion. The general conclusion is not unexpected. The majority opinion of the right and center was mainly opposed to the Wilsonian program. Socialist opinion, in a minority on the left, which had at first been sympathetic to Wilson, saw in the final document (which it refused to approve) a continuation of imperialistic and nationalistic thought. The author shows how difficult it is to determine reciprocal causal relationships between the press, the public, and the events. He exhibits French public opinion at the time of the Conference as a general influence under which the French Delegation negotiated rather than as a force applying localized pressure at specific places and times. To a sociologist a study of this sort is perhaps inadequate; but to any historian who is looking for evidence of "the

pictures which are acted upon" in a given set of circumstances (p. 4) it is admirable. Since public opinion was decisive in so many of the Conference decisions, the importance of Professor Noble's conscientious and intelligent work can scarcely be questioned. PHILIP M. BURNETT.

A List of Books and Articles on Colonial History and Overseas Expansion published in the United States in 1933, 1934 and 1935. Compiled by LOWELL JOSEPH RAGATZ. (London, Arthur Thomas, 1936, pp. vi, 91, 3*s.* 6*d.*) This bibliography supplements *Colonial Studies in the United States during the Twentieth Century* (London, 1932; Washington, 1934) and *A List of Books and Articles on Colonial History and Overseas Expansion published in the United States in 1931 and 1932* (London and Washington, 1933). It was prepared for the annual meeting of the Commission internationale d'histoire coloniale and will, in due course, be incorporated in *Bibliographie d'histoire coloniale, 1931-1935* to be issued under the auspices of the Société de l'histoire des colonies françaises.

Haile Selassie, Emperor of Ethiopia: With a Brief Account of the History of Ethiopia, including the Origins of the Present Struggle, and a Description of the Country and its Peoples. By Princess ASFA YILMA. With an Introduction by Azaj Warqneh C. Martin. (New York, D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936, pp. xiv, 305, $4.00.) Though this book does not cover the fascist conquest of Ethiopia, it is one of the most informing and readable of the recent popular works on Ethiopia and its ill-fated ruler.

Political Handbook of the World: Parliaments, Parties, and Press as of January 1, 1937. Edited by WALTER H. MALLORY. (New York, Harper and Brothers for Council on Foreign Relations, 1937, pp. 207, $2.50.) This is the latest issue and revision of a well-known and indispensable work of reference.

Curriculum-Making in The Social Studies: A Social Process Approach. By LEON C. MARSHALL and RACHEL MARSHALL GOETZ. [Report of the Commission on the Social Studies, The American Historical Association.] (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936, pp. xvii, 252, $1.75.) The authors define the social studies as "those techniques and knowledges designed to render our increasingly elaborate social life comprehensible to the individual" (p. 3). They propose a new pattern for organizing these studies—history, the social sciences, and something more—for study in the schools. Existing courses are held to be inadequate. A "larger synthesis" is suggested, to be achieved by "grouping our multifarious human activities into a small number of great processes . . . common to all types of society" (p. 12). These processes, which provide titles for most of the chapters, are: (1) the process of adjustment to the external physical world, including the process of learning to manipulate natural forces, the process of organizing to manipulate these forces—the social order—and the process of the distribution of the population over the physical and cultural areas of the earth; (2) the process of biological continuance and conservation; (3) the process of guiding human motivation and aspiration, including the process of determining value standards or norms and the process of securing minimum adherence to value standards or norms; (4) the process of developing and operating the agencies of social organization; (5) the process of securing and directing cultural continuance and cultural change; (6) the process of personality molding. In the analysis and description of these six processes the authors draw variously on biology, sociology, psychology, anthropology, ethics, geography, economics, and technology. Each chapter concludes with a statement of generalizations to be developed in the schools. The many contacts with present programs are stressed,

though difficulties in finding adequately trained teachers for the proposed organization are recognized (p. 83). The authors do not present a curriculum; they suggest, as their title indicates, an approach. A commission of the College Entrance Examination Board has, however, expanded the six processes in proposals for the reorganization of secondary-school history. ERLING M. HUNT.

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CHARLES PEERS. History in the Making. *History*, Mar.

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LOUIS LAURENS. L'évolution de la médicine et l'histoire des idées. *Rev. Hist.*, Nov.

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An account of the Third Mennonite World Conference and the papers read there. *Mennonite Quar. Rev.*, Jan.

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LEOPOLDO TRAVERSI. Con Menelik fra i Galla Arussi. *Politica*, Feb.

ANCIENT HISTORY

T. R. S. Broughton

Wirtschaften und Charakter in der antiken Bildung. By JÜRGEN BRAKE. (Frankfurt a.M., Gerhart Schulte-Bulmke, 1935, pp. 151, 6.50 M.) This careful, penetrating discussion of the development and meaning of Greek conceptions of work, wealth, and leisure from Homeric times to the end of the classical period has been undeservedly neglected in both historical and philological journals. It has certain marked defects resulting from the author's idealism, especially a tendency to neglect economic institutions themselves and a pronounced aristocratic bias which leads to a double standard of values. Despite that, Brake has broken new ground in many places and has made a major contribution to the understanding of the economic and ideological aspects of aristocratic Greek society.

M. I. FINKELSTEIN.

Ahnenbild und Familiengeschichte bei Römern und Griechen. By ERICH BETHE. (Munich, C. H. Beck, 1935, pp. xiii, 121, 2.10 M.) The intrinsic difference between the idealizing genius of the Greek and the realistic temperament of the Roman is clearly marked by the respective attitudes of the two peoples toward the dead and, in particular, by the manifestations of the commemorative spirit in their arts and literatures. These contrasts in folkway form the theme of this little book, which comes from the pen of a veteran philologist who has deserved well of classical scholarship in various fields, notably in mythology and Homeric poetry, and who here combines wide learning with charm of presentation. The notes documenting the text are rich in erudition. Bethe's explanation of the genesis of the custom, uniquely Roman, of preserving the wax masks of ancestors in the atrium and exhibiting them in the funeral processions of members of patrician families is novel and provocative: the preservation of such masks is a refined survival of the primitive practice of interment in the house, a usage founded on the belief that the dead could thus continue to keep watch and ward over surviving kin. The obvious objection to this view, namely, that in historical times the *ius imaginum* was the especial prerogative of illustrious families, Bethe seeks to remove by the hypothesis that even the humblest family

could not be estopped from making and preserving the masks, hence that the *ius imaginum* covered only the public exhibition in the funeral pageant. His evidence for his conclusion is, necessarily, gleaned mostly from comparative anthropology. Analogy, however, is not inevitably proof. Certainly the burial of Phocion's ashes near the hearth in 318 B.C. cannot be justifiably cited in this connection; Phocion's widow resorted to this as a temporary expedient until a change of heart on the part of the Athenians should permit interment in the ancestral tomb. DUANE REED STUART.

The Historian Ephorus. By G. L. BARBER. [The Prince Consort Prize Essay, 1934.] (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan Company, 1935, pp. xii, 189, $2.50.) In this volume Mr. Barber discusses the familiar problems concerned with the life and work of Ephorus, including his sources and his own function as a source for later historians, his bias and the quality of his work, and the authorship of the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*. The book is in general fairly well arranged, with convenient summaries at the end of most of the chapters and a bibliography (which, by the way, shows strangely inconsistent and puzzling methods of reference) but no index of any kind. The various topics are treated carefully, with full use of the ancient sources and of the modern scholarly work which concerns Ephorus. Mr. Barber, however, seems to be unfamiliar with important modern trends in historiography; his chapter on "The Causes of the Peloponnesian War", in particular, reveals no recognition of the basic importance of economic forces. The work cannot be called an original contribution to knowledge, as the author himself seems to recognize (pp. xi-xii). All the problems which he considers have been fully treated by German scholars. Is it seriously believed, then, that those who desire detailed information about a Greek historian of the fourth century, whose works are now lost, cannot read the treatises of scholars who have dealt with him, if they are written in German? Or are English scholars now yielding to the disastrous new tendency toward extreme nationalism in scholarship? Yet it is rather convenient for English-speaking persons who are concerned with Greek historiography to have this little volume available, and, when the Prince Consort Prize is added to the scales, its production may be considered justifiable. CLINTON W. KEYES.

Africa Romana. By A. G. AMATUCCI, F. ARNALDI, C. CECCHELLI, E. CIACERI, G. M. COLUMBA, F. S. GRAZIOLI, G. GUIDI, A. MOMIGLIANO, R. PARIBENI, P. ROMANELLI, D. SICILIANI. [Istituto di Studi Romani.] (Milan, Ulrico Hoepli, 1935, pp. xi, 253, plates, LVIII, 28 l.) A species of subtle atavistic imperial irredentism lends organic unity to this lavishly illustrated volume of twelve popular essays on the Roman conquest and domination of North Africa. Devoted principally to military and political history (though the ethnographical, religious, literary, and archaeological aspects are not neglected), the collection constitutes an elaborate rationalization, on historical grounds, of the "expansionistic necessity" and "civilizing mission" of Italy on the African continent. The choice and treatment of subject are characteristic. General Grazioli's "Scipio Africanus" ends with a plea for the study of military history, "which fortifies the spirit"; the technique of colonial warfare in Africa is illustrated by General Siciliani in his account of the Jugurthan War. It would be difficult to find much agreement with Ciaceri's views on the "spiritual necessity" of Roman imperialism. Momigliano's discussion of the Hellenistic influences upon the indigenous kingdoms of Roman Africa emphasizes the ethnographic continuity of the indigenous population. Cecchelli's account of the African Church is based

upon the doctrine that spiritual facts, not economic causes, are the effective determinants of human behavior. Romanelli, however, contributes an interesting essay on Roman Cyrene, and Guidi's masterful description of the archaeological remains of Leptis Magna contains unpublished material. It is almost unnecessary to add that without a clarification of the economic and social forces involved a vital picture of Roman Africa does not emerge.

MEYER REINHOLD.

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MEDIEVAL HISTORY

G. C. Boyce

Byzanz. Vorarbeiten zur Topographie und Archäologie der Stadt. By Alfons Maria Schneider, assisted by W. Karnapp. [Istanbuler Forschungen.] (Berlin, Archäologisches Institut des Deutschen Reiches, 1936, pp. 106. 13.50 M.) Students of Byzantine history will find this a significant archaeological study. There are ten plates, a map to illustrate the *Stand der Forschung* in 1935, and many drawings throughout the text.

Early Irish Laws and Institutions. By Eoin MacNeill. (Dublin, Burns, Oates, and Washbourne, 1936, pp. iv, 152, 5s.) The author, professor of early and medieval history in the National University of Ireland, vigorously protests against the current doctrine that Early Irish political organization was based on the "clan system". Its foundation was, he holds, the assembly of freemen (*tiath*), as in Northern and Middle Europe generally; its civilization was agricultural rather than pastoral; it was profoundly affected by the Scandinavian invasions from the ninth century onward; and, to complicate the problem, the legal texts, which began to be written in the seventh century, though dating from different periods,

have been treated as though they were all of the same date. To pre-Celtic institutions he would trace the high status of craftsmen, the survivals of matriarchy, and the Druids (whom he regards as teachers of jurisprudence and higher culture rather than as priests). The *túatha* numbered about eighty, with an average area of some four hundred square miles and a population of about twenty-five thousand, each with a king elected from the descendants of a king and functioning as the chief executive, judicial, and military head. These *túatha* were in five "fifths" (Ulster, Leinster, Connacht, Munster, and Meath), with a "high king" over all. Crimes were punished by an elaborate system of fines, and there was an equally elaborate relation of lord and vassal, the latter either free or unfree. Feudalism struck a mortal blow at native Irish law, which, despite a revival in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, declined until its formal replacement by English law under James I. The book is marred, unhappily, by a polemic tone scarcely in accord with scientific presentation of a theme of much interest for the history of political and legal institutions. L. H. GRAY.

Books known to Anglo-Latin Writers from Aldhelm to Alcuin, 670-804. By J. D. A. OGILVY. (Cambridge, Mediaeval Academy of America, 1936, pp. xix, 109, $2.25.) This monograph, consisting of an alphabetical list by authors of books known in England during the earliest flourishing period of English letters, is a valuable first attempt at a catalogue serving both general and special students of the culture of the period. The evidence is twofold: extant manuscripts and citations by authors of the period. The first type of evidence is less judiciously handled, being primarily gleaned from the list appended to Lindsay's *Notae Latinae*, Thompson's *Handbook*, Westwood's *Facsimiles*, and a few provincial English catalogues; it does not include valuable material in the better manuscript catalogues of Continental libraries or even in the *Catalogue of Ancient Manuscripts* of the British Museum; nor have standard editions of Latin authors received due attention. To the second type of evidence, derived mainly from secondary sources, the compiler has added numerous references of his own. One notes that a few obvious sources of information like the files of *Neues Archiv* and standard works like Laistner's *Thought and Letters* have been neglected. More careful reading of some items like Krusch's *Studien* would have eliminated misstatements. The reader must, of course, weigh for himself the evidence presented; it is extremely doubtful, for instance, whether Bede knew *any* of the works of Boethius, Cicero, Horace, or Ovid. Although reasonable care has been exercised in choosing the canon of Old English works, any variation will change the completed picture considerably; for instance, from examination of the earliest known manuscripts this reviewer is convinced that *De saltu lunae* is not Alcuin's, nor the three "hymns" on times Bede's. An abnormal number of small errors, only some of them typographical, suggests the need for more careful editorial supervision. Despite these reservations, students will find that Dr. Ogilvy has discreetly allotted his material and has given them a handy catalogue.
CHARLES W. JONES.

Bede. By R. W. CHAMBERS. [Annual Lecture on a Master Mind, The British Academy.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1936, pp. 30, 50 cents.) A distinguished authority on Beowulf has ventured with some reluctance to discourse on Bede and with disarming frankness remarks: "if you have followed this lecture carefully, you will have realized that anything of value in it I have learnt from those three men, through whom alone, if at all, I must claim to be in touch

with the Venerable Bede". The three scholars are Charles Plummer, W. P. Ker, and S. J. Crawford. The lecture is pleasantly, if rather discursively, written but contains little real substance. Bede's scientific work is touched on very slightly, his labors as a theologian are ignored, and his function as a historian is treated very superficially. In short, we must regretfully state that this lecture is quite unworthy of its subject and of the learned body before which it was delivered.

M. L. W. LAISTNER.

Robert Grossetête, the Defender of our Church and our Liberties. By B. C. BOULTER. (London, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1936, pp. vii, 151, 5*s*.) Mr. Boulter has missed the opportunity of writing a short biography of Robert Grossetête that would have satisfied a real need. His essay gives, to be sure, the main outlines of Robert's career, an insight into his busy life, an estimate of his profound intellectual interests, and something of the background against which these must be set if the facts of his personal history are to be understood. In many respects, however, this small volume is a tract in which positive religious convictions intrude unnecessarily, thus weakening the historical narrative. Robert must be judged in terms of his own age, and little is gained when the author writes constantly with an eye on the sixteenth century and what was to come—a tendency that is evident in the recurrent allusions to Colet. The author's obiter dicta reflect an unfamiliarity with contemporary scholarship. The estimate of Frederick II and of the thirteenth century is not acceptable, nor is the discussion of the Crusades. The reviewer finds it difficult to understand the paragraph (p. 96) explaining Grossetête's *modernity*, and the impression created by the main paragraph on page 6 is definitely erroneous.

The Wars of Frederick II against the Ibelins in Syria and Cyprus. By PHILIP DE NOVARE. Translated and edited by JOHN L. LA MONTE. [Records of Civilization.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1936, pp. ix, 230, $3.75.) The Old French chronicle here translated describes an important episode in the history of the Latin Orient: the successful resistance of a great feudal family, the Ibelins of Cyprus and Syria, to the absolutist pretensions of the Emperor Frederick II on the occasion of the latter's crusade. The author, a firm partisan of the Ibelins, includes only such material as bears directly on his subject. Yet his narrative vividly portrays life in the Latin Orient with its individual combats, its battles and sieges, and above all its local loyalties and jealously guarded traditional rights. Since no manuscript of the original text exists, Professor La Monte has used that established by Charles Kohler from the two sources in which Philip de Novare's work was incorporated: the *Gestes des Chiprois* and the *Chronicle of Amadi*. Other sources have been cited in the notes or included in appendixes, thus making the work an edition as well as a translation. Although allowing himself "considerable leeway" on several occasions, the translator has closely followed the original and preserved some of its style. Hence such a phrase as "hot news" (*chaude novelle*, p. 70). The introduction contains an account of Philip de Novare's life and a short narrative of the crusade of Frederick II based on European sources and designed to counterbalance the anti-imperial tone of Philip's chronicle. The omission of any reference to H. K. Mann's treatment of Frederick's crusade in his *Lives of the Popes in the Middle Ages* is a minor fault in a work which gives evidence of the careful scholarship familiar to the readers of Professor La Monte's *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1100-1291*. In fact Philip's chronicle provides a living illustration of the legal principles explained in the earlier work. MARSHALL W. BALDWIN.

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MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The United Kingdom and the British Empire

R. L. Schuyler

The Governors of Jamaica in the Seventeenth Century. By Frank Cundall. (London, The West India Committee, 1936, pp. 189, 18s.) In his adopted island home Frank Cundall is known as a distinguished public figure who, during a period of forty years, has made the Institute of Jamaica one of the leading learned bodies in the British Empire and a cultural force of paramount importance in Caribbean life. To the outer world he is the historian of Jamaica and, as such, has won wide recognition both in Europe and America. His works in the field are legion and range from sober bibliographies through sprightly annals and parish chronicles to learned studies of the island press and general surveys which evoke the admiration of specialists in European expansion. The present volume approaches from the biographical angle the tumultuous period of settlement following the conquest. In narrating the careers of this tropical possession's first fifteen administrators, the author skillfully marshals the chief events of early Jamaican history and passes them in stately review. The work thus becomes, in effect, a colonial cavalcade with the governorship providing the central thread. It is based almost entirely upon source material in local and London archives and meets the highest canons of scholarship. Generous excerpts from contemporary records have been included to good advantage. Nearly forty illustrations, an early map, a chronology, and a list of prominent officials add materially to the book's usefulness. All in all, we have here a significant study which materially enriches the literature of modern colonization. A companion work, covering the eighteenth century in similar fashion, will follow at an early date. Lowell Joseph Ragatz.

The Huguenot Settlements in Ireland. By Grace Lawless Lee. (New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1936, pp. xi, 280, $5.00.) In the annals of the great Huguenot emigration from France the story of the settlements in Ireland has been largely neglected. Via England, Holland, and Switzerland and direct from France some thousands of Huguenots found their way to Ireland, especially

in the late seventeenth century. There they were on the whole well received, and they dowered the country with their business ability. The impetus they gave to the manufacture of textiles, particularly linen and silk, can scarcely be exaggerated. With such a story to tell, this book, based on the most painstaking research, may be thought of as a footnote to Irish and European history. It is disappointing that the author can give no adequate notion of the number of Huguenots who came to Ireland and little clear information as to their economic activities there. But the fault lies in the paucity of the available source material. A certain vagueness, too, is imparted to the work by the fact that much of it is based on names, and in a land where Amyrault readily became Emerott, De Bigault was transmuted into Bigoe, and Leroux reappeared as Larowe, names do not form the surest kind of a guide. On the other hand, it is in part the author's method of approach that makes the book dull to read and difficult to use. She takes the Huguenots according to their place of settlement in Ireland and discusses them county by county and town by town, gathering all the names she can find, sorting them out into families, and setting down about them any scattering facts that have survived. When, as with the Crommelin family, or the reverend and incredibly active James Fontaine (ancestor of Matthew Fontaine Maury) a good deal of material was to be found, the narrative takes on form and interest and value. Elsewhere it tends to be a scanty and confused series of genealogical gleanings, more of antiquarian than of historical interest.

CHARLES WOOLSEY COLE.

The Correspondence of the Honourable Peter Russell with Allied Documents relating to his Administration of the Government of Upper Canada during the Official Term of Lieut. Governor J. G. Simcoe while on Leave of Absence. Volume III, *1798-1799*. Edited by E. A. CRUIKSHANK and A. F. HUNTER. [The Ontario Historical Society.] (Toronto, the Society, 1936, pp. xxx, 323.) Peter Russell had neither the strength nor the audacity of a Carleton, and his name is associated with some rather unsavory deals in provincial lands. Nevertheless, Simcoe, whose place he had taken in 1796, held him in high regard and unsuccessfully supported his claims to the lieutenant-governorship in 1799. Much of his correspondence in this volume is concerned with problems of land granting and settlement, although it is well to mention that the introduction contains a brief review of the efforts which had been made since 1792 to establish schools for advanced education. Perhaps the most interesting part of the correspondence is concerned with the diplomacy of the inland country. Ever since the coming of Citizen Adet to the United States in 1796 both Canadian provinces had lived in almost constant fear of French intrigues and the possibility (in Upper Canada at least) of an Indian attack supported by the French. Russell seems to have been quite convinced that such an invasion was contemplated—to take place probably in the spring of 1799. There never was any actual danger; but the letters reveal how real were the apprehensions of the administration in view of the reported disaffection of the Western Indians and how much anxiety existed in the country itself. Upper Canada was in no position to defend her frontiers, although Russell apparently saw the importance of seeking naval supremacy on the Lakes. There is comparatively little in this volume on interprovincial trade or on the problem of inland commercial relations with the United States; but on questions of Indian policy and land settlement the student of American frontier history should find it particularly fruitful. GERALD S. GRAHAM.

The Sugar Colonies and Governor Eyre, 1849-1866. By WILLIAM LAW MATHIESON. (New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1936, pp. xiv, 243, $5.00.) This is

Doctor Mathieson's third volume centering in the British Caribbean and Mauritius since 1823, when Thomas Fowell Buxton launched the successful drive to terminate slavery within the empire. Like its predecessors (*British Slavery and its Abolition, 1823-1838*, London, 1926, and *British Slave Emancipation, 1838-1849*, London, 1932) it rests upon only a small fraction of the available source material. Manuscripts have been entirely ignored, most of the documents employed may be found in any first-class European or American library, and undue reliance has been placed upon an odd assortment of secondary works. Though in no sense a scholarly production or a definitive study, it retells a story long familiar to students of modern colonization in able fashion and will be received with interest by the general reader for whom it was presumably designed. The author's conviction that free trade was ultimately beneficial to the planters inasmuch as it forced them to meet the exigencies of a new situation is an intriguing thesis which deserved more adequate development. His statement that it enabled most of them "to re-establish their prosperity" is, however, contrary to fact. The career of Governor Edward Eyre, who suppressed the Morant Bay uprising among landless Jamaican blacks in 1865 with a laudable show of force only to suffer immediate removal from office in consequence, is sympathetically portrayed. Many readers will go further and hail him as an unfortunate victim of negrophilism and negrolatry among ignorant sentimentalists and professional busybodies in the home country. LOWELL JOSEPH RAGATZ.

Die letzte Phase des britischen Imperialismus auf den amerikanischen Kontinenten, 1880-1896. By WOLFGANG MOMMSEN. (Leipzig, Universitätsverlag Noske, 1933, pp. xiii, 140, 5 M.) Although this little book has attracted but slight attention in America, it seems for several reasons to deserve a belated notice. It was written by the brilliant grandson of one of Germany's most famous historians; it represents an attempt to interpret a series of incidents in British-American relations in the light of world power politics and of a German student's peculiar *Weltanschauung;* it was written under the guidance of the distinguished Professor Oncken, whose official connection with the University of Berlin has now unfortunately been terminated; and it is in and for itself an interesting piece of work. It is chiefly as an interpretation and as a description of the reorientation of British imperial policy that the work is of special interest; as a narrative account of the incidents discussed, it would leave a good deal to be desired. Neither Americans nor Englishmen will probably find themselves entirely in agreement with the author's opinions as to the motives determining their national policies, but they will not on that account find those opinions any the less interesting. Dr. Mommsen views the United States in this period as a constant potential menace to Canada and to the whole British position on the American continent. Such a power, he says, Great Britain had to conciliate, so as to "free her rear" and be able to act the more aggressively in South Africa and elsewhere. Because of the friction developed by Holstein's tactless efforts to goad Great Britain into seeking a German alliance, Salisbury had to liquidate all American disputes as cheaply as possible and do his utmost to cultivate the friendship of the United States so that he might play the game of power politics the more boldly in Africa and Asia. For, to this young German scholar, "Geschichte ist [doch] Machtgeschichte". CHESTER V. EASUM.

The Role of British Strategy in the Great War. By C. R. M. F. CRUTTWELL. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan Company, 1936, pp. 100, $1.60.) The violence of Lloyd George's diatribes against the military mind gives timely interest to this suggestive little volume based on lectures delivered last year at

Cambridge by the principal of Hertford College at Oxford, whose *History of the Great War,* published in 1934, is perhaps the most satisfactory single volume on that subject. He bears out some of Lloyd George's claims as far as lack of imagination on the part of the soldiers is concerned, but he blames the British cabinet for allowing control to pass into the hands of soldiers, and French soldiers at that. He condemns the work of the Allied commanders as a whole: "The great fault of the directing brains in the West was a kind of mechanical megalomania, pinning their faith to masses of men, masses of guns, masses of shells, masses of transport", when their efforts "would have been better employed in adapting to modern conditions three of the fundamental and closely connected principles of all successful war—surprise, economy of force, and elasticity of plan". As for Haig, he says, in connection with the appointment of Foch as generalissimo, that he "often showed himself stubborn, narrow and impervious to argument, but he has the rare and glorious distinction of bringing about his own subordination for the common cause". Later he remarks: "In the last hundred days of the war he showed a vision and a calculated resolution in taking chances worthy of a great captain. His career in the war is a curious example of how exactly the same qualities in dissimilar circumstances make both a bad and a good general." The little book can be easily read in an hour and will amply reward the time so spent. ROBERT G. ALBION.

Dominion of Canada: Report of the Public Archives for the Year 1935. (Ottawa, Government Printing Bureau, 1936, pp. xxxi, 172-398, $1.00.) This volume contains the annual report of the acting Dominion archivist, Dr. James F. Kenney, reports of the several divisions of the Archives, a list of donations, and an appendix containing a "Calendar of State Papers addressed by the Secretaries of State for the Colonies to the Lieutenant Governors or Officers administering the Government of the Province of Upper Canada, 1821-1835". This is a continuation of the calendar begun in the *Report* for 1933. The documents calendared are in the Archives, Series G, Volumes 60-75.

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FRANCE

S. B. Clough

Bibliographie des travaux publiés de 1866 à 1897 sur l'histoire de la France de 1500 à 1789. By E. SAULNIER and A. MARTIN. Tome II[1]. (Paris, Les Presses Universitaires de France, 1936, pp. 176, 50 fr.). This is a continuation of the *Bibliographie* prepared under the auspices of the Société d'histoire moderne. The first volume appeared in 1932.

Franz I. und die Anfänge der französischen Reformation. By GEORG FLORIAN MÜNZER. (Freiburg i. B., Rudolf Goldschagg, 1935, pp. 106.) The religious policy of Francis I is puzzling because with one hand he would deliver heretics to the stake and with the other deliver heretics from the mouth of the lion. The key is to be found in his effort to be at once the most Christian king and the patron of letters. The heretics whom he saved were Humanists, and he rescued them not through any interest in their religious opinions but solely because he regarded them as lights of learning. In the latter part of his reign foreign politics somewhat affected his internal religious policy and likewise in contradictory directions, since he was making alliances with the pope, the Turk, and the German Protestants. Such is the thesis of this excellent dissertation.

ROLAND H. BAINTON.

Le catalogue de l'histoire de la Révolution française. By ANDRÉ MARTIN and GÉRARD WALTER. Volume I. (Paris, Éditions des Bibliothèques Nationales, 1936, pp. xiv, 596, 120 fr.) This catalogue is expected to be completed in five volumes.

Mémoires de Barbaroux. Edited by ALFRED-CHABAUD. [Les classiques de la Révolution française.] Première édition critique. (Paris, Armand Colin, 1936, pp. 311, 32 fr.) The memoirs of Barbaroux first appeared in 1822 in the well-known series published by Baudouin Frères. They were edited by Ogé Barbaroux, with certain changes dictated by filial piety or by political necessity—for in 1822 the great *conventionnels* were still pretty disreputable figures, and the mere publication of the memoirs took some courage. An edition in 1866 added nothing new except some misprints. The late Claude Perroud undertook a new edition which, after Perroud's death, M. Chabaud himself completed in 1923. Since then M. Chabaud has recovered the original manuscript of Barbaroux and now presents this definitive edition. But the manuscript, which, with the memoirs of Mme. Roland and a few fragments of the memoirs of Buzot, represents all we have left of genuine autograph memoirs by members of the Gironde, is very incomplete. It begins in May, 1790, with the *affaire Lieutaud* at Marseilles, deals with local politics until 1792, gives very interesting details about the role of the Marseillais in the fall of the monarchy, and ends with an account of Barbaroux's struggle with the Paris Commune in August and September, 1792. Written when Barbaroux was a hunted exile, it has no documentary basis, but it is a useful sample of the opinions of one of the ablest organizers among the Girondins. M. Chabaud has done more than reprint these memoirs. He has written a very careful account of the manuscripts and editions of the memoirs and has also supplied a biography of Barbaroux for the very important years about which Barbaroux himself is silent. This biography makes no attempt at literary fullness. It is a condensed and accurate summary of pertinent facts, assembled with a minimum of judgments of value. There is still room for a *Life* which will

attempt to place the brilliant young Marseillais in the whole framework of the Revolution. But this *Life* will definitely have to be an interpretation based on M. Chabaud's work of reconstruction. It seems unlikely that the most industrious digging in the archives will unearth any more material important in the purely biographical sense. CRANE BRINTON.

La péréquation fiscale de l'Assemblée constituante, 1790-1791. By ROBERT SCHNERB. [Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire économique de la Révolution française.] (Clermont-Ferrand, Imprimerie Générale, 1936, pp. 114, 20 fr.) This is a new and illuminating method of presenting the efforts of the Constituent Assembly toward a fair distribution between the departments of the total burden of the real estate and personal property taxes, fixed at 300,000,000 livres. Professor Marion had already shown that the assembly was forced, for lack of a better guide, to utilize as a basis the totals assigned before 1789 to the same areas by the discredited system of the Old Regime. Departmental and district authorities, responsible for further subdivision, had to do likewise. Dr. Schnerb has restudied the whole problem, drawing fresh material from local archives which his predecessors had not examined. His conclusions confirm those of Professor Marion. His special contribution, however, is the presentation of the different classes of facts in a series of fourteen maps, carrying departmental boundary lines. He first shows in five maps the weight of the old taxes per inhabitant, using the year 1790, the last in which they were in effect. Then comes a map of the real estate tax for 1791, the first year of the new system. This makes possible interesting comparisons. The next question is the proportion between the amount of the new taxes and the total income, that is, the rate. For this purpose he uses the estimates of income for 1820, the first that were reliable, believing that no substantial change had taken place since 1791. This is the subject of maps VII-XII. Two final maps concern the personal property tax and the later door and window tax. The author's conclusion is that the "péréquation" was a failure and that a fairer assessment remained to be accomplished years afterward as the long hoped for "cadastre" was pushed to completion. HENRY E. BOURNE.

Les finances publiques et les impôts de la France. By L. TROTABAS. (Paris, Armand Colin, 1937, pp. 215, 13 fr.) This latest addition to the useful "Collection Armand Colin" is worthy of its predecessors. It deals with the problems of taxation, governmental borrowings, expenditures, budgets, and the handling of public moneys. It provides a clear picture of contemporary French public finance but unfortunately includes very little information for the period before the War.

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Id. Le gouvernement et l'administration monarchiques en France à la fin du règne de Louis XIV. *Rev. Cours et Conférences*, Dec. 15.

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A. Meynier. La terre et le paysan de la Révolution à l'Empire. *Rév. Fr., Rev. Hist. Contemp.*, 1936, no. 4.

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Alexandre Zevaès. Notes d'histoire socialiste: La presse socialiste de 1871 à 1900 [cont.]. *Nouv. Rev.*, Mar.

Pièrre Renouvin. La politique française en iuillet 1914 d'après les documents diplomatiques français. *Rev. Hist. Guerre Mond.*, Jan.

Jules Isaac. Observations complémentaires sur les documents français. *Ibid.*

F. Lescazes. La politique française du pétrole. *Nouv. Rev.*, Mar.

J. Salwyn Schapiro. French Political Realignment. *Events*, June.

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Henry Bertram Hill. Gouverneur Morris on Robespierre. *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, June.

The Netherlands and Belgium

A. J. Barnouw

Erasmus und der deutsche Humanistenkreis am Oberrhein. By Gerhard Ritter, with a Supplement, *Die Erasmusdrucke der Freiburger Universitätsbibliothek*, by Joseph Rest. (Freiburg, Universitätsverlag, 1937, pp. 85.) What elements in Erasmus's works won him the love and worship of the German Humanists in Freiburg and the Upper Rhine? That is the question to which Dr. Ritter has sought an answer. His conclusion is that it was not his amazing book learning but his modern ideas, religious, political, and social, as set forth in his *Enchiridion*, his *Laus stultitiae*, and his *Colloquia*. But Erasmus, though flattered, remained cool and reserved. He could not stomach the German patriotism of these Humanists, who dreamed of a European peace imposed upon the nations by a German Empire restored to the ancient glory of Charlemagne's reign. He foresaw nothing but bloody strife resulting from attempts at such a restoration. He preferred some kind of European court of arbitration or a universal league of rulers, with collective instead of regional security treaties.

Articles

Engel Sluiter. The Dutch Archives and American Historical Research. *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, Mar.

J. C. H. de Pater. De Religie als Factor bij de Vorming van den Nederlandschen Staat. *Bij. Vaderland. Gesch. Oudh.*, 1937, no. 1.

Engel Sluiter. New Light from Spanish Archives on the Voyage of Olivier Van Noort: The Vice-Admiral Ship, the Hendrick Frederick, on the West Coast of the Americas (1600). *Ibid.*

P. Noordeloos. De Doorvoering van de Hervorming in Drente. *Hist. Tijdsch.*, 1937, no. 1.

W. F. Prins. De Homogeniteit der Nederlandsche Kabinetten. *Gids*, May.

Germany and Austria

E. N. Anderson

Bibliographie zur deutschen Geschichte im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung, 1517-1585. Edited by Karl Schottenloher. [Die Kommission zur Erforschung der Geschichte der Reformation und Gegenreformation.] Volume III, *Reich und*

Kaiser, Territorien und Landesherren. (Leipzig, Karl W. Hiersemann, 1936, pp. 569, 36 M.) Dr. Schottenloher's comprehensive bibliography of sixteenth century German history continues its impressive growth with the appearance of a third volume and the promise of a fourth in the near future. The publication of each successive volume increases the value of the entire work in something like geometrical progression. Not only does each new volume list the material on new aspects of the history of the period, but it also enhances the value of the earlier volumes by frequent cross references. It thus becomes increasingly easy to work outward from any given starting point—person, place, or state—toward a whole circle of related subjects. The present volume deals with the literature on the Holy Roman Empire and the emperors (numbers 27,822 to 28,983) and on the German territorial states and their princes, lay and ecclesiastical (numbers 28,984 to 34,165). In the second section the territories are arranged in alphabetical order. Under each heading are listed first the works dealing with the territory in whole or in part, then those on individual rulers and members of their families, in chronological order. When one considers the complex interrelation of ruling families and petty territorial states, especially the ecclesiastical states, of sixteenth century Germany, this system might at first glance appear rather confusing. Any difficulty involved in finding the various lords under the territorial headings, however, has been obviated by the addition of a complete name index at the end of the volume. Of a bibliography as complete as this, especially since there are no critical notes either to praise or deplore, there is little to say save to describe its method and scope and to congratulate its editor on the successful accomplishment of a herculean task. WALLACE K. FERGUSON.

German Agricultural Policy, 1918-1934: The Development of a National Philosophy toward Agriculture in Postwar Germany. By JOHN BRADSHAW HOLT. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1936, pp. x, 240, $2.50.) This short monograph, originally prepared as a doctor's dissertation at the University of Heidelberg, is a useful summary of the evolution of postwar agricultural policy in Germany, and American readers are thus afforded the first objective exposition in English of the background and genealogy of the National Socialist agrarian philosophy and legislation. The interplay of party ideology, the force of economic and political circumstances, and the form of government in the determination of the policy toward agriculture are considered, but the author's emphasis is on the role of economic necessity and the conflict of attitudes and policies of the various economic and political groups over such matters as price and production control, taxation, tariffs, subsidies, credit, land settlement, and labor. The subject is treated chronologically in four periods: (1) the Social Democratic years, 1918-1920; (2) the liberal parliamentary party coalition compromise period, 1921-1923; (3) the era of industrial control, federalization, and farm revolt, 1924-1932; and (4) the period of the dictatorship of the National Socialist party since 1933. Thus the cycle from a socialist dictatorship in 1918 through liberalism to the present regime supplies an ideal opportunity to survey the interplay of pressure groups in the formation and execution of an agricultural program in a modern industrial nation. An interesting part of the treatment is the way in which the Nazis have mitigated the conflicts between the various pressure groups which proved fatal pitfalls to their predecessors by using nationalistic and racial ideologies. The results of the Nazi agricultural policy are merely sketched, but this is probably due to the selection of 1934 as the culminating date. The value of this all too brief summary of the subject is enhanced by the inclusion of adequate maps, tables, bibliography, and index.
EVERETT E. EDWARDS.

Im Kampf gegen die Kriegsschuldlüge: Ausgewählte Aufsätze. By ALFRED VON WEGERER. (Berlin, Quaderverlag, 1936, pp. x, 178, 3.60 M.) In order "to sustain in undiminished force the will of the German nation to fight the war guilt lie and to transmit this will to the rising German youth", Alfred von Wegerer, doughty German champion of revisionism, has collected thirty-two of his approximately three hundred and fifty essays and articles written between 1919 and 1936 in this handsome volume. All the essays are reprints of materials published earlier in newspapers and magazines and hence are largely undocumented. The first, dated May 28, 1919, contains this interesting prophecy: "One thing is certain: Any government which, by its signature, surrounds this work of the devil [the Versailles Treaty] with a halo of justice, will, sooner or later, be driven out." The last, written in January, 1936, ends on the note that Germany in 1936 as in 1914 is and has been "a haven of peace". A number of the articles are in the nature of replies to and refutations of Renouvin, Churchill, Bülow, *et al.* All along there is approving reference to the works and views of H. E. Barnes. The seventeenth, twenty-first, twenty-third, and twenty-ninth articles form an excellent chronological story of the German struggle for vindication from the time of the armistice to 1935. Two main ideas are repeated again and again throughout the entire volume: first, that official Allied repudiation of the war guilt thesis as expressed in the preamble to and in article 231 of the peace treaty is a matter of honor with the German nation, and second, that the Third Reich's repudiation of the restrictive military and naval clauses of the peace settlement is in no way to be interpreted as demonstrating a desire for war. WALTER CONSUELO LANGSAM.

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K. STÄHLIN. Die Briefe Louis Schneiders an den russichen Domänenminister. *Ibid.*

KÄTE NADLER. Idee und Wirklichkeit des Lebens bei C. G. Carus: Ein Beitrag zur Lebensphilosophie der Romantik und der Gegenwart. *Zeitsch. f. Kulturphilos.*, Feb.

ADOLF HASENCLEVER. Zur Geschichte der Venezuela-Blockade von 1902-3. *Hist. Vierteljahrs.*, XXXI, no. 1.

S. ABERDAM. Nietzsche et le Troisième Reich. *Mercure de Fr.*, Apr.

F. —. The National Minorities in Europe: VI, The Germans of Hungary. *Slav. and East Europ. Rev.*, Apr.

JAROMIR NEČAS. Economic and Social Problems in German-Bohemia. *Ibid.*

FELIX E. HIRSCH. Recent Historical Writings in Germany. *Books Abroad*, Winter.

ITALY

Gaudens Megaro

Raphaël, ou la puissance de l'esprit. By FRED BÉRENCE. (Paris, Payot, 1936, pp. 330, 25 fr.) The clue to this latest volume in the Raphael bibliography is its subtitle, inspired by the words of Goethe quoted on the title page: "Les oeuvres de Raphael ont une grande importance pour le développement de l'esprit humain. . . . Leur étude a été une des plus belles joies de ma longue vie." Intense admiration for Goethe has apparently led M. Bérence to seek in the study of Raphael a

deeper understanding of his idol. The painter's life is presented in eight chapters as "la vie contemplative" (the pre-Roman period) and "la vie active" (the Roman period). The key is to be found in a new interpretation of the "Young Knight's Vision" (National Gallery, London). The dreaming knight is not Chivalry, according to M. Bérence, but the youthful artist himself; his vision is not of "la Volupté" and "la Vertu" but of "la vie active"—with "book and sword of scholar and soldier"—and "la vie contemplative"—a "holy creature of light . . . mother of all the fair virgins whom he is to paint". Apparently Raphael preferred the latter but, once in Rome, yielded to the former. The author's differentiation between "le savant" and "le penseur" is curious; the significance of the book and the sword in Raphael's later life is not very clear. Possibly the most illuminating evidence of the author's research is to be found in his analysis of the power of love in Raphael's life. ELEANOR PATTERSON SPENCER.

Henri Cernuschi: Sa vie, sa doctrine, ses oeuvres. By GIUSEPPE LETI. Translated by Louis Lachat. (Paris, Les Presses Universitaires de France, 1936, pp. 293, 30 fr.) Cernuschi, young hero of the insurrection of Milan in 1848 and of the defense of the Roman Republic in 1849, escaped to France in 1850, became a wealthy banker in Paris, a defender of the Third Republic, a collector of Oriental art, and a widely respected and influential champion of bimetallism. Believing without compromise in republican federalism, he was never reconciled to the Kingdom of Italy. His patriotic device is, in his words: "Every man who thinks and acts carries his country in himself." The present biography is eulogistic. It is the life of an exile by an exile, based on the private papers of the subject.

KENT ROBERTS GREENFIELD.

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Santità e sventura sul trono: La venerabile Maria Cristina di Savoia, regina delle Due Sicilie. *Civiltà Cattolica,* Jan. 16.

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LUIGI ENRICO PENNACCHINI. Dopo la caduta della repubblica romana [cont.]. *Rass. Stor. Risorgimento,* Jan.

GINO BANDINI. Roma nel 1860 (dalla corrispondenza diplomatica spagnuola inedita). *Ibid.*

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ANNIBALE ALBERTI. Il regime fascista e il parlamento. *N. Antol.,* Feb. 16.

H. ARTHUR STEINER. The Constitutional Position of the *Partito Nazionale Fascista. Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.,* Apr.

Giorgio Menzio. Come giungemmo a Cufra. *N. Antol.*, Mar. 16.
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Emma Amadei. Un epistolario inedito sugli avvenimenti romani dell' anno 1808. *Archivi*, 1936, no. 4.
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Nunzio Coppola. Lettere inedite di uomini illustri a Vittorio Imbriani e ad altri rinvenute nella Biblioteca Universitaria di Napoli [cont.]. *Accad. e Bibl. It.*, Sept.
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D. Mauro Inguanez. Lettere di Gladstone all'abate Luigi Tosti sulla conciliazione. *N. Antol.*, Jan. 16.
Francesco Sarri. In margine alla questione coloniale: Lettera dell' avv. Bianco Bianchi al conte Alfredo Serristori. *Aevum*, Jan.

Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia

Hans Kohn

T. G. Masaryk. By Zdeněk Nejedlý. Volume IV. (Prague, Melantrich, 1937, pp. 362, Kc. 100.) This volume, really the fifth of the monumental biography of Masaryk by a historian to whom we owe the standard biography of the Czech composer Bedřich Smetana, deals with the first years of Masaryk's teaching at Prague University, 1882-1886, and is in reality a comprehensive intellectual history of the Czech people during that period.

Kamil Krofta, Historien. By Josef Klik. (Prague, Historický Klub, 1937, pp. 28.) An essay in the French language on the work of Kamil Krofta, the well-known Czech historian and present foreign minister, is followed by a bibliography of his writings.

Deutsche und Tschechen: Zur Geistesgeschichte des Böhmischen Raumes. By Konrad Bittner. (Brünn, M. Rohrer, 1936, pp. 240, Kc. 48.) This first volume deals with the conflicts between Czechs and Germans down to the Hussite wars. It maintains that there is an inevitable conflict between them, with one of the two peoples alternately in the position of leadership. This thesis is criticized by Roman Jakobson and Frank Wollman in *Slovo a Slovesnost*, February, 1937.

Nová redakce zemského zřízení království českého z posledních let před českým povstáním. By Julius Glücklich. [Publications of the Masaryk University of Brno, Czechoslovakia, no. 41.] (Brünn, A. Píša, 1936, pp. lxxiii, 567, Kc. 60.) This very careful edition of documents relating to the legislative activity of the estates of the kingdom of Bohemia between 1564 and 1620 will prove of interest to any student of the political, social, and religious history of Bohemia in the eventful years which preceded the loss of independence and which witnessed an unparalleled legislative activity on the part of the estates. The detailed and instructive introduction throws much light on the constitutional theory of that period and on the national spirit animating the Bohemian estates.

Wallenstein, 1630-1634: Tragödie einer Verschwörung. Two volumes. By Josef Pekař. (Berlin, Metzner, 1937, pp. 710; 336, 19 M.) This German edition of one

of the main works of a leading Czech historian represents a departure from the last Czech edition. About one fifth of the original text has been omitted; on the other hand much new material has been added on the strength of new literature published since 1933.

Národ o Havlíčkovi. Edited by ANT. HAJN. (Prague, Association of Czech Journalists, 1936, pp. 760, Kc. 72.) An important collection of contemporary documentary sources and of later evaluations of the life and work of one of the founders of modern Czech nationalism and its first great journalist, Karel Havlíček (1821-1856).

Politička Povijest Hrvatske. By JOSIP HORVAT. (Zagreb, Binoza-Svjetskipisci, 1936, pp. 527.) This is a well-written popular history of Croatia in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, written with a very good knowledge of the sources, especially as regards the earlier part. It is preceded by a short introduction by Ferdo Šišić on the history of the Croats down to the nineteenth century. The book is detailed and well illustrated but confines itself to the political history, not discussing cultural and economic questions. There is no index.

ARTICLES

M. MURKO. Hundert Jahre der "Slavischen Wechselseitigkeit" J. Kollárs. *Slav. Rundschau,* 1937, no. 1.

OTTOKAR ODLOŽILÍK. Karel of Žerotín and the English Court, 1564-1636. *Slav. and East Europ. Rev.,* Jan.

JULIUS GLÜCKLICH. Kamil Krofta jako historik [Kamil Krofta as a historian]. *Český Časopis Hist.,* 1937, no. 1.

STEFAN OSUSKÝ. Why Czechoslovakia? *For. Affairs,* Apr.

JAROMIR NEČAS. Economic and Social Problems in German Bohemia. *Slav. and East Europ. Rev.,* Apr.

ROBERT MACHRAY. The Menace to Czechoslovakia. *Fortnightly Rev.,* Feb.

ERNST BENEDIKT. Austria and Czechoslovakia. *Contemp. Rev.,* May.

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THE FAR EAST

C. H. Peake

A History of the Far East in Modern Times. By HAROLD M. VINACKE. [Second revised edition.] (New York, F. S. Crofts and Company, 1936, pp. xiv, 556, $5.00.) The usefulness of this historical survey is evidenced by a demand sufficient to warrant a second revision three years after the first. Except for the last two chapters few changes seem to have been made. Certainly very few if any titles have been added to the bibliographies. This is unfortunate, for a number of important books which have appeared since the 1933 edition might well have been included. The really significant difference between the two revisions is the addition of a chapter which, under the caption "The New Far East", carries the narrative from 1933 to the present. Chronologically the division is artificial and is determined by the accident of publication, for the dividing point of recent years is not 1933 but 1931. In practice the author has recognized this and often harks back to the earlier date. In spite of this handicap the chapter is well done. It is an excellent summary of events, objective and well balanced. It contains penetrating comments and interpretations. Particularly good is its analysis of the internal economic and political situation in Japan and of the elements in the shifting balance of power in the Far East. It brings down to the autumn of 1936

what is one of the best surveys of nineteenth and twentieth century political, diplomatic, and economic developments in the Far East. K. S. LATOURETTE.

The Social and Economic History of Japan. By EIJIRO HONJO. (Kyoto, Institute for Research in Economic History of Japan, 1935, pp. xii, 410, $4.00.) Eijiro Honjo, professor of economic history at the Kyoto Imperial University and a director of the Institute for Research in Economic History, has presented in this book a methodically arranged collection and translation of his articles published in the *Keizaishi Kenkyu* (Kyoto University Economic Review). The articles deal for the most part with social and economic developments of the Tokugawa period (1603-1867). Changes in political and social organization from early times to this period are briefly traced in the first part of the book, and the last section discusses the forced loans of the Restoration period after 1868 which laid the foundations for Japan's rapid rise as a modern world power. A clear and authoritative picture is drawn of the breakdown of the centralized feudal structure of the Tokugawa period under the impact of a growing money economy accompanied by a growth of towns and the financial power of the commercial classes resulting in the dissolution of the old feudal social stratification. The inadequacy of the feudal organization to solve the growing social and economic distress of the times is graphically set forth as preparing the way for the overthrow of the shogunate and restoration of the emperor in 1868, followed by the abolition of feudalism a few years later. A supplement traces the encouraging and rapid development of the study of economic history in Japan, while one of the appendixes contains a select list of Japanese works relating to the economic and social history of Japan.

Militarism in Japan. By KENNETH W. COLEGROVE. [World Affairs Books.] (Boston, World Peace Foundation, 1936, pp. 77, 75 cents.) Based for the most part upon Japanese sources, Professor Colegrove's careful study of the position of the military in Japan is a valuable contribution to the literature in western languages on the subject. After a brief survey of the rise of the military regime in the feudal age and its carry-over into the post-Restoration period the author describes the peculiar position of the Supreme Command in the government which gives rise to the frequent practice of "dual diplomacy" in the conduct of foreign affairs. The greater portion of the monograph traces the rise of virtual military dictatorship in recent years, which has not yet, however, succeeded in overthrowing the parties and abolishing parliamentary government. While the army revolt of February 26, 1936, forced the extreme militarists to mark time on their road to complete control of state machinery, the author feels their halt is only temporary as their power is "still enormous". However, he does see a ray of hope in the possibility that militarism in Japan will gradually recede if the great industrial houses, which in the past have largely controlled the major political parties through contributions to their campaign funds, should decide once again to work through them rather than in co-operation with the army as they have been to some extent forced to do in recent years. There are other liberal forces at work in Japan, such as those which find expression in the labor-farmer parties, which if given a chance to develop may well contribute to the emergence of a democratic and responsible parliamentary government. The degree of success which these liberal forces will attain in their struggle against the fascist ambitions of the militarists will be in large measure determined by developments in world politics and in particular by the degree of consideration accorded Japan by the other powers in its efforts to solve pressing economic problems.

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UNITED STATES HISTORY

E. C. Burnett

GENERAL

The Second Annual Report of the Archivist of the United States, 1935-1936. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1936, pp. 109.) In addition to the report of the archivist this contains, in the form of appendixes: the National Archives Act; a bibliography of books and articles by members of the staff of the National Archives; the report of the National Historical Publications Commission; and the report of the National Director of the Survey of Federal Archives to the Works Progress Administration.

Regional List of Serials in the College and University Libraries in Ohio. Compiled by a committee of the College and University Section of the Ohio Library Asso-

ciation. (Ann Arbor, Edwards Brothers, 1936, pp. ix, 205, $4.00.) This list represents the periodicals and serials to be found in twenty-five college libraries in Ohio whose holdings were not recorded in the *Union List of Serials*. Since the majority of these colleges are denominational institutions whose growth has been a slow process during the years, the record of their holdings includes almost two hundred and fifty titles not found in the *Union List of Serials*. As might be expected, a great part of these added titles are periodicals of sectional or denominational interest, the very periodicals it is often most difficult to locate.

GEORGE F. HOWE.

A Checklist of United States Newspapers and Weeklies before 1900 in the General Library. Compiled by MARY WESCOTT and ALLENE RAMAGE. Part IV, *North Carolina*. (Durham, Duke University, 1936, pp. 471-706.) In keeping with the present attempt of American libraries to build up collections of various types of research material in centers which can serve different sections of the country, the library of Duke University has undertaken the formation of a collection of newspapers representative of the presses of the United States, Europe, and South America to serve the needs of the Southeastern part of the United States. The present check list records the library's holdings of United States newspapers. Parts I-III (1932-1933) include papers from the states which fall alphabetically between Alabama and New York. As might be expected, the North Carolina newspapers, which are listed in this part, are more largely represented in the collection than those of any of the other states yet included in the check list, issues of 553 papers from 118 North Carolina towns being recorded, as compared with 1136 papers from 270 towns for the 28 states in Parts I-III.

DORIS M. REED.

Old Historic Churches of America: Their Romantic History and their Traditions. By EDWARD F. RINES. [The National Society of Colonial Dames of America.] (New York, Macmillan Company, 1936, pp. xii, 373, $6.00.) The history of a people is most vividly illustrated by its architecture. We are rapidly, though belatedly, realizing the value of our architectural heritage, and with this realization is growing a literature exclusively its own. Governmental recognition is seen in the Historic American Buildings Survey which, as a feature of the National Park Service, is making a comprehensive survey of our early architecture and producing most valuable graphic and photographic records for deposit in the Library of Congress. In the present volume Edward F. Rines makes a valuable addition to such records by introducing us to quite an extraordinary number of old churches, into whose past he has delved in the course of some five years of well-directed travel throughout our country. He has not only unearthed dates and facts in his quest but has burrowed into intimate history, thereby clothing his story with interesting incident, romance, and tradition that make it readable as well as informative. It is to be regretted that he was not more generous with illustrations. The quest begins with the seventeenth and eighteenth century churches of the Virginia cavaliers, progresses to the Pilgrim country, and then follows the Atlantic seaboard down to the deep South. The middle states follow, and the journey ends with the Spanish missions of the old Southwest. Fifty illustrations accompany the text. A good bibliography and index and a chronological list of the buildings described (each one dated) go far in giving the book value.

I. T. FRARY.

The Early Days of Christian Socialism in America. By JAMES DOMBROWSKI. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1936, pp. viii, 208, $2.50.) This study presents the ideas of those preachers and teachers who sought to awaken the social con-

science of America in the last decades of the nineteenth century—those exponents of the social gospel who introduced the study of sociology into the theological seminaries, founded the American Economics Association "to bring science to the aid of Christianity", edited the socially critical religious press, and sponsored the Christian Labor Union. The author gives a penetrating analysis of the relation of the social gospel to the economic realities to which it was applied. Against this he sets the thought of men who were moved by a concern for the social order and were often gifted with brilliant and courageous insight, but who, with few exceptions, failed to achieve a realistic understanding of social forces because they were bound by the assumptions of the very society which they criticized and by the limits of essentially individualistic ethics. He shows how one after another of these men cut short his analysis of the social scene by an appeal to the Christian virtues, urging patience, honesty, and thrift on the workers and Christian charity and renunciation on the rich. For the student of American history this study is a significant revelation of the way in which American religious thought, in turning to criticize the economic institutions that it had helped to create, was kept by its own basic tenets from making a constructive contribution to the problem of adapting institutions to changing social conditions. Mr. Dombrowski has contributed a valuable chapter in the history of American social thought, one which throws light not only on the 1880's but on some of the liberal approaches to the social problems of today.

CAROLINE F. WARE.

Lawrence Kearny, Sailor Diplomat. By CARROLL STORRS ALDEN. (Princeton, University Press, 1936, pp. xi, 231, $2.00.) Classifying biography broadly as imaginative or judicial, one readily places Professor Alden's book in the latter class. His narrative lies close to the sources, from which he quotes freely. He includes many of Kearny's letters entire, with both superscription and subscription. This wealth of original information, together with the setting of events, for which he has an eye, makes his book exceedingly valuable for naval scholars. Those with an interest in diplomacy will turn first to the chapters entitled "The Origin of the Open Door Policy in China" and "Protecting American Interests in Hawaii". The younger and more adventurous reader may prefer the two preceding chapters, which treat of the West Indian and Mediterranean pirates. Of the three staples of biography, setting, achievements, and characterization, obviously in the *Life* of a man of action such as Kearny, achievements take first place. The author does not overlook characterization. Some of the personal letters which he quotes are exceedingly revealing. In this excellent, factual biography there is little opportunity for inspirational writing. One is inclined to so classify the declaration that "the true claim to greatness of the United States Navy" consists in "its national character; it is of the people and for the people".

CHARLES O. PAULLIN.

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Original Letters of General Grant. *Colorado Mag.*, Mar.

Charles A. Hawley. Correspondence between John Greenleaf Whittier and Iowa. *Iowa Jour. Hist. and Pol.*, Apr.

New England and Middle Colonies and States

Economic History of a Factory Town: A Study of Chicopee, Massachusetts. By Vera Shlakman. (Northampton, Smith College, 1935, pp. 264.) This is the second volume of the Connecticut Valley regional studies under the Council of Industrial Studies of Smith College. In admirably clear form it presents the record of Chicopee's growth: from a colonial village adjoining natural water power, through the early stage of being a company town run by absentee Boston capital, the emergence of a middle class, the coming of foreign labor, and the subsequent loss of its middle class to neighboring communities as it settled back into being a working-class factory city in the Springfield-Holyoke metropolitan district. The chapters on the rise of the middle class, 1825-1860, and on wages and labor unrest, 1840-1850, are particularly interesting, and students of class stratification will also find material of interest to them in the concluding chapter. In addition to its intrinsic importance, a study of this kind merits the careful scrutiny of teachers in all branches of the social sciences in institutions where research funds are limited. It demonstrates what can be done in the way of really significant research in local communities without large expenditures of funds. It also raises the urgent question as to why a study of this sort is carried on at Smith or elsewhere by a single department or pair of departments. Where are the Smith College sociologists and workers in other disciplines who might add effectively to such local regional studies? Robert S. Lynd.

The Ku Klux Klan in Pennsylvania: A Study in Nativism. By Emerson Hunsberger Loucks. (New York, Telegraph Press, 1936, pp. viii, 213, $1.75.) The characteristic racial variety of Pennsylvania's population has made the commonwealth a natural hotbed of nativist enthusiasm. The revival of the Ku Klux Klan in Pennsylvania after the World War received the same cordial support which in former years had been accorded to the Native Americans, the Know Nothings, and the A.P.A., attracting at least several hundred thousand "joiners". The history of this order presents an interesting study of human behavior including, in a tangled mixture of motives, high idealism, lofty patriotism, exhibitionism, cruelty, intolerance, charity, greed, yearning for civic betterment, graft, quarreling, and crime. Its influence, however, was short-lived; between 1925 and 1929 the Klan lost strength rapidly, in large part because of the weaknesses of the leadership, the quick passing of a fad, and the popular antipathies which it naturally created. This chapter in the history of American nativism is based upon a great number of personal interviews with Klansmen of all ranks, upon the study of the records of protracted litigation, and upon an extensive survey of Klan literature and the press. The author has sought to relate his study to the general problem of nativistic outbreaks and to analyze the environments which in general encourage them. The weakness of the work is that, understanding these wider implications as he does, the author fails to describe sufficiently the Pennsylvania social and economic background. Otherwise the study shows a commendable breadth of understanding and is further strengthened by a

judicious handling of controversial material. There is need of much similar survey work undertaken near the event. The data on many contemporary questions is so voluminous, artificial, and ephemeral that if such contemporary analyses are not made from a multitude of oral statements of participants, future historians will be bequeathed a well-nigh impossible task. ROY F. NICHOLS.

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

The First Plantation: A History of Hampton and Elizabeth City County, Virginia, 1607-1887. By MARION L. STARKEY. (Hampton, Houston Printing and Publishing House, pp. 95, $1.00.) This is a laudable endeavor to gather from the surviving fragmentary sources (the records of Elizabeth City County disappeared in smoke and ashes during the Civil War) and to present, in a manner both comprehensive and comprehensible, the economic, political, and social life story of

one of the oldest of Virginia communities from its first plantings to within sight of the generations now living. To characterize the booklet with requisite brevity, Miss Starkey has given us a generous slice of layer cake—varicolored and variflavored, with eke a bit of icing. By the by, there has never been an Elizabeth City, except as a mirage that floated before the vision of some early burgesses; but the county proudly accepted the name and has proudly borne it, permitting the "settlement" to use the name Hampton and under that name to experience its glories and its tragedies.

The Beginnings of Printing in Virginia. By DOUGLAS C. MCMURTRIE. (Lexington, Virginia Publishing Company, 1935, pp. 51, $2.00.) Here is surveyed the rise of printing in Virginia from that void for which Sir William Berkeley thanked almighty God in 1671 to the early years of the nineteenth century. A beginning of printing was made in 1682 by John Buckner and William Nuthead, but they were not long afterward ousted by order of the king, and it was not until 1730 that the printing press became permanently established in Virginia. It was William Parks, a Maryland printer, who edged his business over into Virginia and presently (1736) began at Williamsburg the publication of the *Virginia Gazette,* the first of five newspapers to bear that precise title (to say nothing of the nineteen other papers which included *Virginia Gazette* in their titles). Thereafter, if Sir William's spirit ever hovered over Virginia, he could not but have discovered that his prayer had received a decided negative.

Virginia Newspapers, 1821-1935: A Bibliography with Historical Introduction and Notes. By LESTER J. CAPPON. [Guide to Virginia Historical Materials, The University of Virginia Institute for Research in the Social Sciences.] (New York, D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936, pp. xiii, 299, $5.00.) This is one of those lists, more or less descriptive, of all discoverable files of the newspapers of a given region, period, or class. It is not the largest work of this type. Nor is it even a pioneer in its own field. Brigham's *Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820,* remains the chronological precursor of all American regional lists, but *Virginia Newspapers* is one of the finest. It represents an amount of prodigious physical labor not ordinarily appreciated. In addition to a mere census, we have much historical information. Experts in Southern history will appreciate the Historical Introduction of thirty-one pages. Here we have a bird's-eye view of the rise and progress, vicissitudes and triumphs, of Tidewater, Piedmont, and Valley newspapers and their editors. Whig, Democratic, and Republican attitudes, the place of Virginia newspapers in the approach to the "irrepressible conflict", and the matter of war censorship are appropriately mentioned. The volume is well sponsored, well printed, and excellently prepared bibliographically. It is equipped with a classified bibliography of sources, a helpful "List of Titles", a commendable "Chronological Guide", and a long index. It is an ideal reference tool. R. WEBB NOYES.

Quaker Education in Baltimore and Virginia Yearly Meetings, with an Account of Certain Meetings of Delaware and the Eastern Shore affiliated with Philadelphia. By WILLIAM C. DUNLAP. (Philadelphia, distributed by Science Press Printing Company, Lancaster, Pa., 1936, pp. xi, 574, $4.00.) The title page of this book states that it is "based on the manuscript sources", and this promise is fulfilled on almost every page of the text. Ten chapters relate the story of education, attempted and achieved, within the limits of Baltimore Yearly Meetings held at Park Avenue and Laurens Street and at 3107 North Charles Street, also within the limits of Virginia Yearly Meeting (1702-1845) and Half-Yearly Meeting

(1844-1911). The minutes consulted at Park Avenue and Laurens Street tell the educational story of one yearly, eight quarterly, thirty-six monthly, and thirteen preparative meetings, making a total of fifty-eight; while those at 3107 North Charles Street cover two yearly, two half-yearly, eight quarterly, twenty-two monthly, and six preparative meetings, making a total of forty and a grand total of ninety-eight! Many of these meetings themselves have been "laid down", especially since the Separation; and of all the schools started by the meetings, only one (the Baltimore Monthly Meeting School at Park Avenue and Laurens Street) is said to remain. This decline is ascribed to the growing strength and number of the public schools. The chief value of the book is the making accessible in print a large number of excerpts from the manuscript minutes of the numerous meetings. Besides the transcript of minutes relating to the meetings' schools, Dr. Dunlap's book gives a condensed account from their respective autobiographies of Benjamin Hallowell's school at Alexandria and Samuel M. Janney's school, "Springdale", at Lincoln, Virginia. Following the lead of these two eminent Quaker educators and philanthropists, Dr. Dunlap includes at the end of his book three chapters on the education of "the poor", the Indians, and the Negroes, and a chapter on "Religious Education", the last of which quotes varied Friendly pronouncements on "a guarded education" and how to achieve it. WILLIAM I. HULL.

Fort Maitland: Its Origin and History. By ALFRED JACKSON HANNA. (Maitland, Fort Maitland Committee, 1936, pp. xxi, 92.) An account of the building of the fort, of the significance of the site, and a sketch of Captain William Seton Maitland (1798-1837), for whom the fort was named, are included in this booklet.

A Check-List and Finding-List of Charleston Periodicals, 1732-1864. By WILLIAM STANLEY HOOLE. (Durham, Duke University Press, 1936, pp. xi, 84, $1.75.) Mr. E. W. Winkler, of the University of Texas, reviews this list in the *Library Quarterly* of January, 1937. As a Southerner, he is impressed with Charleston's proportion of Southern periodicals before the Civil War. One tenth of such periodicals, he says, were published in Charleston. Dr. Hoole, himself a Southerner, notes "the strong feeling of provincialism or sectionalism", pointing out that many titles after 1825 use the word "Southern". This reviewer, however—a Northerner—is interested in the author's statement that "the average Carolinian clung to the magazines of England with a tenacious faith". Surely Dr. Hoole's classification of his periodical literature reveals no narrower scope of interest than existed in New England during a similar period. The list of seventy "libraries coöperating" (Mr. Winkler's count) shows that the compiler has spared no pains to cover the country, from Bowdoin College, in Maine, through four large libraries in the Detroit and Ann Arbor region of Michigan and three in Chicago, to the great Henry Huntington Library in California.
R. WEBB NOYES.

Indians and Pioneers: The Story of the American Southwest before 1830. By GRANT FOREMAN. Revised edition. [The Civilization of the American Indian Series.] (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1936, pp. xiv, 300, $2.50.) This is a revised edition—it might almost be called a mere reprint—of a book which was originally published by the Yale University Press in 1930 and reviewed in the July, 1931, number of this journal. It is now republished as a volume in the Civilization of the American Indian Series. JOSEPH C. GREEN.

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J. CARLYLE SITTERSON. Ante-Bellum Sugar Culture in the South Atlantic States. *Jour. Southern Hist.*, May.

LEO ALILUNAS. Statutory Means of Impeding Emigration of the Negro. *Jour. Negro Hist.*, Apr.

PEARL BLOOD. Factors in the Economic Development of Baltimore, Maryland. *Ec. Geog.*, Apr.

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EDWARD A. WYATT. Rise of Industry in Ante-Bellum Petersburg [cont.]. *Ibid.*

ELIZABETH H. DAVIDSON. Child-Labor Reforms in North Carolina since 1903. *North Carolina Hist. Rev.*, Apr.

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SARAH C. H. KOLNITZ. Lafayette in South Carolina. *Ibid.*

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KATHRYN T. ABBEY. The Union Bank of Tallahassee: An Experiment in Territorial Finance. *Florida Hist. Quar.*, Apr.

T. FREDERICK DAVIS. Early Orange Culture in Florida and the Epochal Cold of 1835. *Ibid.*

CHARLES S. SYDNOR. Historical Activities in Mississippi in the Nineteenth Century. *Jour. Southern Hist.*, May.

ANDRÉ LAFARGUE. Pierre Clement De Laussat, Colonial Prefect and High Commissioner of France in Louisiana: His Memoirs, Proclamations, and Orders. *Louisiana Hist. Quar.*, Jan.

JAMES W. SILVER. General Edmund P. Gaines and the Protection of the Southwestern Frontier. *Ibid.*

MITCHELL FRANKLIN. Concerning the Historic Importance of Edward Livingston. *Tulane Law Rev.*, Feb.

ROGER P. MCCUTCHEON. Libraries in New Orleans, 1771-1833. *Louisiana Hist. Quar.*, Jan.

ROBERT T. CLARK, JR. The German Liberals in New Orleans, 1840-1860. *Ibid.*

KATHRYN GARRETT. The First Constitution of Texas, April 17, 1813. *Southwestern Hist. Quar.*, Apr.

RALPH W. STEEN. Analysis of the Work of the General Council of Texas, 1835-1836. *Ibid.*

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P. L. RAINWATER, ed. Letters of James Lusk Alcorn. *Jour. Southern Hist.*, May.

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C. G. CHAMBERLAYNE, contr. The Lost "Clergy List" of 1758. *William and Mary Coll. Quar. Hist. Mag.*, Jan.

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ROBERT F. SEYBOLT, contr. South Carolina Schoolmasters of 1744. *South Carolina Hist. and Geneal. Mag.*, Apr.

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MARK F. BOYD, contr. The Defenses of the Floridas: A Report of Captain James Gadsden, Aide-de-Camp to General Andrew Jackson, Aug. 1, 1818. *Florida Hist. Quar.*, Apr.

JEAN DELANGLEZ, ed. M. Le Maire on Louisiana. *Mid-America*, Apr.

JAMES A. PADGETT, ed. Some Letters of James Brown of Louisiana to Presidents of the United States [1793-1829]. *Louisiana Hist. Quar.*, Jan.

WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

Old Cane Springs: A Story of the War between the States in Madison County, Kentucky. By JOHN CABELL CHENAULT. Revised and Supplemented by Jonathan Truman Dorris. (Louisville, Standard Printing Company, 1936, pp. xvi, 257.) This document is written as if it were the reminiscences of Augustine Hart, giving his experiences during a long visit, which began in the fall of 1860, with kinsmen who lived in the fertile, slaveholding district about Old Cane Springs Church, in Madison County, Kentucky. Since his father was a Republican and an emancipationist, young Hart entered his new surroundings with a strong antislavery bias which, however, was quickly broken down and replaced by a hearty approval of that system of social organization. Nearly half the document purports to record the observations and conversations that brought about this change. Much of this is too indefinite to be useful to the historian, who further discounts its value when he learns that the "recollections" were not written by Augustine, who died in his young manhood, but were penned by his cousin, Judge John Cabell Chenault, a short time before his death in 1924. Presumably, Judge Chenault used this literary device to make his defense of slavery more convincing. But despite all this, the story has value. Judge Chenault himself lived through the period he described, and his account of events during the Civil War is both interesting and informative, particularly in respect to the effect of the war on this rural community of divided sympathies: the crumbling of the plantation system, the changing relations of masters and slaves, the activities of home guards, the operations of the draft, and friction between neighbors and within the church. This memoir has been edited and extensively annotated by Professor Dorris, who has also included a number of interesting illustrations, two maps, and an index. CHARLES S. SYDNOR.

The Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1935. (Springfield, Illinois State Historical Library, 1936, pp. 198.) This volume, edited by Paul M. Angle, contains the official proceedings at the annual meeting, May 9, 1935, including the papers read at that meeting, to wit: Genesis of a Railroad [Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy], by Earnest Elmo Calkins; George Rogers Clark and Historians, by Temple Bodley; The Epic Historical Significance of President Lincoln, by William Baringer; Culture in Illinois in Lincoln's Day, by Florence Walton Taylor; and Newton Bateman [1822-1897], State Superintendent of Public Instruction and President of Knox College, by William Edward Simonds.

Express and Stagecoach Days in California from the Gold Rush to the Civil War. By OSCAR OSBURN WINTHER. (Stanford University, University Press, 1936, pp. xi, 197, $2.25.) Here is a sketch—brief, condensed, but well and soundly done—of a large subject. The Gold Rush era was a harum-scarum, colorful period, the like of which was never known elsewhere in our or any other country's history, a period when population growth was so rapid that ordinary public services could not keep up with it, and emergency devices, often remarkably efficient, were brought into play—such, for example, as the expressmen who carried mail to the new communities, sometimes by stagecoach and steamboat, otherwise on horseback, on snowshoes, or on foot. Stagecoaches began running almost before there were any roads for them to run on. Professor Winther has made a scholarly study of his subject, going to original sources for his material whenever possible, and has corrected some errors made by earlier writers. He is rather more concerned with the economic aspects of the subject, with balance sheets

and tonnages, than with the more colorful facets usually dwelt upon. The panic year, 1855, when California's dire financial storm swirled around the express companies' banks, is carefully analyzed and well pictured. Having confined his study to the ten years following 1849, the author does not deal with that lively staging across the Sierras between Virginia City and Sacramento from 1859 to 1868, which may be a matter for regret to some readers. The book is fully documented and annotated, has a large and valuable bibliography, and is illustrated with some interesting reproductions of old advertisements, maps, prints, and express-carried letters. ALVIN F. HARLOW.

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PHILIP ZOERCHER. Taxation in Indiana during the Last Forty-Five Years. *Indiana Hist. Bull.*, Feb.

WILLIAM C. HARRISON. Notes on Early History of Taxation in Indiana. *Ibid.*

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HATTIE M. ANDERSON. Missouri, 1804-1828: Peopling a Frontier State. *Missouri Hist. Rev.*, Jan.

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J. A. SWISHER. With Rod and Chain. *Palimpsest*, Mar.

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CHARLES A. HAWLEY. Some Aspects of Congregationalism in Relation to the Early Cultural Development of Iowa. *Iowa Jour. Hist. and Pol.*, Apr.

DAVID C. MOTT. Pioneer Lawmakers Association. *Annals of Iowa*, Apr.

EINAR I. HAUGEN. A Critique and a Bibliography of the Writings of Rasmus B. Anderson. *Wisconsin Mag. Hist.*, Mar.

GEORGE M. STEPHENSON. Some Sources for Northwest History: Swedish Immigration Material. *Minnesota Hist.*, Mar.

R. E. ALBRIGHT. The American Civil War as a Factor in Montana Territorial Politics. *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, Mar.

LESLIE L. SUDWEEKS. Early Agricultural Settlements in Southern Idaho. *Pacific Northwest Quar.*, Apr.

F. V. SCHOLES. Troublous Times in New Mexico, 1659-1670 [cont.]. *New Mexico Hist. Rev.*, Apr.

HENRY P. BEERS. Military Protection of the Santa Fé Trail to 1843. *Ibid.*

DOROTHY O. JOHANSEN and FRANK B. GILL. A Chapter in the History of the Oregon Steam Navigation Company: The Ocean Steamship *Oregonian*. *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, Mar.

MELVILLE JACOBS. Historic Perspectives in Indian Languages of Oregon and Washington. *Pacific Northwest Quar.*, Jan.

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LELA BARNES, ed. Journal of Isaac McCoy for the Exploring Expedition of 1830. *Kansas Hist. Quar.*, Nov.

THOMAS C. WELLS. Letters of a Kansas Pioneer, 1855-1860 [concl.]. *Ibid.*

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ANDREW JENSEN, ed. Latter-Day Saints Emigration from Wyoming, Nebraska, 1864-1866. *Nebraska Hist. Mag.*, Apr., 1936 [printed Feb., 1937].

THOMAS F. O'CONNOR, ed. Narratives of a Missionary Journey to New Mexico in 1867. *Mid-America*, Jan.

LATIN-AMERICAN HISTORY

W. S. Robertson

Handbook of Latin American Studies: A Guide to the Material published in 1935 on Anthropology, Archaeology, Economics, Geography, History, Law, and Literature. Edited by LEWIS HANKE. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1935, pp. xv, 250, $3.00.) This volume, in the words of the introduction, "proposes . . . to make it easy for specialists to keep abreast of current literature in their own corners of the field, and to give them the opportunity to peer over the fence which sets them off from their fellows and to observe each other's movements". It fills a longfelt gap in a field where it is especially difficult to keep abreast of current publications. The work itself is the outgrowth of a conference of scholars that was held in the offices of the Social Science Research Council in New York City in April, 1935. An interesting feature of this conference was that it brought together students of anthropology, economics, geography, government, history, and literature. This handbook, which is intended to be the first of an annual series, attempts to meet the needs of the various disciplines represented at this conference. The total number of items listed is 2343. The editor notes that there are no sections on government documents or on South American anthropology and archaeology. But this gap is to be filled in the 1937 edition. There are special sections on the physical anthropology, linguistics, archaeology, hieroglyphic writing, and ethnology of Middle America. Under the general heading of economics, there are special sections for the Caribbean area which is made to include Mexico, Central America, the West Indian Islands, as well as Colombia, Venezuela, and British Guiana; while under South America appear the Argentine, Brazil, Chile, Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru, and Uruguay. This division of the subject matter is not followed in the other parts of the volume. As the editor notes, the materials do not always lend themselves to easy geographic classification. The volume will be welcomed by every student of Latin America.

FRANK TANNENBAUM.

Aboriginal Population of Northwestern Mexico. By CARL SAUER. [Ibero-Americana, No. 10.] (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1935, pp. 33, 35 cents.)

New Archaeological Sites from the State of Falcon, Venezuela. By GLADYS AYER NOMLAND. [*Ibid.*, No. 11.] (*Ibid.*, pp. vii, 82, $1.50.) Under the general title of Ibero-Americana the University of California Press has since 1932 issued eleven studies in the history of Latin-American culture. The series is edited by Herbert E. Bolton, A. L. Kroeber, and C. O. Sauer. The project is comprehensive, and the studies are to cover the broad fields of Latin-American cultures, native and transplanted, pre-European, colonial, and modern. Of the studies published to date only one deals with an area outside of Mexico. So far, therefore, the series is mainly a contribution to the culture history of Mexico, and especially northwestern Mexico. If continued at their present high level of workmanship and if broadened to include other parts of Latin America, these papers will become an important collection of materials for the student of Latin-American history.

FRANK TANNENBAUM.

La administración de D. Fray Antonio María de Bucareli y Ursúa, cuadragésimo sexto virrey de México. Edited by R. Velasco Ceballos. Volume II. (Mexico, Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, 1937, pp. cix, 421.) Published by the Mexican National Archives, this volume deals with the work of an important viceroy.

Algodão, cultivo e comercio. By B. H. Hunnicut. (São Paulo, Editora Limitada, 1936, pp. xii, 212.) The cultivation of cotton and its use in the textile industry of Brazil.

El andante caballero don Antonio Nariño. By R. Rivas. (Bogotá, La Luz, 1936, pp. 388.) A biography of a precursor of Colombian independence.

La constitución uruguaya de 1934. By J. Salgado. (Montevideo, Barreiro y Ramón, 1936, pp. 248.) A study of Uruguay's latest fundamental law.

Consulado de Buenos Aires: Antecedentes, actas, documentos. Volume I. Edited by H. C. Quesada. (Buenos Aires, Arch. Gen. Nac., 1936, pp. 579.) This is the first installment of documents concerning the establishment and functioning of the *consulado* of Buenos Aires.

Diccionario biográfico de Chile, 1936. (Santiago de Chile, Universo, 1936, pp. 737.) Biographical data furnished by the persons included.

Gómez, Tyrant of the Andes. By T. Rourke. (New York, Morrow, 1936, pp. 320, $3.50.) An account of the recently deceased dictator who long held sway in Venezuela.

Haiti and her Problems. By D. Bellegarde. (Río Piedras, University of Porto Rico, 1936, pp. 55.) Lectures by a Haitian diplomat.

Historia del desarrolo industrial de Chile. By O. Álvarez Andrews. (Santiago de Chile, La Ilustración, 1936, pp. 391.) This was awarded a prize by a Chilean society for being the best work on the industrial history of Chile.

José María Paz, 1791-1874: Su gloria sin estrella, su genio normal. By J. B. Terán. (Buenos Aires, Cabaut, 1936, pp. 316.) The life of an Argentine general and statesman, with documents in the appendix.

Límites entre el Ecuador y el Perú: III, La real cédula de 1802. By F. Lozano Torrijos. (Quito, Imprenta Nacional, 1936, pp. 59.)

Máximo Gómez, el generalísimo. By B. Souza. (Havana, Trópico, 1936, pp. 325.) A biography of a leader in the revolutionary movement in Cuba.

Mitos, supersticiones y supervivencias populares de Bolivia. By M. Rigoberti Paredes. (La Paz, Atenea, 1936, pp. iv, 232.) A study of the customs and legends of the Bolivian Indians.

Pax Americana: Articles, discours, conférences et autres documents relatifs à l'idée interaméricaine, 1895-1936. By F. Magloire. (Port-au-Prince, M. Gachette, 1936, pp. xvii, 94.)

La personalidad histórica de Colombia. By C. García Prada. (Bucaramanga, Marco A. Gómez, 1936, pp. 203.) A survey of Colombian history.

Policarpo Bonilla: Algunas apuntes biográficos. By A. Sanso. (Mexico, Mundial, 1936, pp. xiv, 558.) A biography of a Honduran president with documents in the appendix.

Les relations des états de l'Amérique latine avec la Societé des nations. By M. Pérez-Guerrero. (Paris, Pedone, 1936, pp. 220. 20 fr.) Latin America and the League.

El rey de la Araucana: Andanzas y malandanzas de S. M. Orélie Antonie. (Santiago, Zig-Zag, 1936, pp. 176.) A sketch of the picturesque career of Orélie Antoine Charles de Tounens among the Araucanian Indians.

Social Aspects of the Banana Industry. By C. D. Kepner. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1936, pp. 220, $3.00.)

La solidarité continental américaine: Ses origines et son avenir. By J. M. Yepes.

(Brussels, Weissenbruch, 1936, pp. 35.) Inter-American relations and an American league.

La panaméricanisme au point de vue historique, juridique et politique. By J. M. YEPES. (Paris, Editiones Internationales, 1936, pp. 188.) Pan-Americanism and inter-American congresses.

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C. BEALS. Cardenas and Capitalism. *Current Hist.*, May.

M. BISBÉ. Mito é historia de Colón. *Lyceum*, Dec.

A. S. DE BUSTAMANTE. The Results of the Pan-American Peace Conference. *New Commonwealth Quar.*, Mar.

R. CARRANCA Y TRUJILLO. Historia del derecho penal en México. *Universidad*, Feb.

E. J. CASTILLERO. R. Diplomacia panameña en el siglo XIX. *Bol. Ac. Pan. Hist.*, Jan.

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C. HULL. The Results and Significance of the Buenos Aires Conference. *Ibid.*

P. C. JESSUP. The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace. *Am. Jour. Internat. Law*, Jan.

M. KUDER. Die deutschbrasilianische Literatur und das Bodenständigkeitsgefühl der deutschen Volksgruppe in Brasilien. *Ibero-Am. Arch.*, X.

R. E. MCNICOLL. Impressions of Lima—Social, Literary, and Political. *Hispania*, Feb.

M. NUNN. The "Americanismo" of Rubén Darío. *Ibid.*

D. A. LOCKMILLER. The Advisory Law Commission of Cuba. *Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev.*, Feb.

L. C. NOLAN. The Relations of the United States and Peru with respect to Claims, 1822-1870. *Ibid.*

J. DE J. NUÑEZ Y DOMÍNGUEZ. Santa Anna en el plano de la actualidad bibliográfica. *Universidad*, Mar.

O. PAUL. Sozialversicherung nach deutschem Muster in Peru. *Ibero-Am. Arch.*, X.

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H. ROMER. Die ibero-amerikanischen Staaten und die multilateralen Verträge über die Organisation des Friedens. *Ibero-Am. Arch.*, X.

P. ROBLES Y CHAMBERS. Contribución para el estudio de la sociedad colonial de la antigua gobernación de Guayaquil. *Bol. Centro Investigaciones Hist.*, IV.

C. A. ROLANDO. Los presidentes del Ecuador. *Ibid.*

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L. H. WOOLSEY. The Ecuador-Peru Boundary Controversy. *Am. Jour. Internat. Law*, Jan.

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The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace. *International Conciliation*, Mar., No. 328.

C. HULL. Opening Address to the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, Buenos Aires, December 5, 1936. Dept. of State, Conference Series, no. 25.

V. LECUNA, ed. Documentos inédi os para la historia de Bolívar. *Bol. Ac. Nac. Hist.*, July.

J. M. NAVARRO JIJÓN. Apuntes para la historia de la díocesis de Guayaquil. *Bol. Centro Inves. Hist.*, IV.

HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The Fifty-second Annual Meeting of the Association will be held in Philadelphia on December 29, 30, and 31. Headquarters will be at the Hotel Bellevue-Stratford. President Thomas S. Gates of the University of Pennsylvania and Mr. Julian P. Boyd of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania are chairman and secretary of the committee on local arrangements. Because this year marks the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Philadelphia Constitutional Convention, it seems appropriate that the meeting should be organized around the central theme of the Constitution. The program committee, of which Professor Walton H. Hamilton of Yale University is chairman, reports that one of the general sessions will be devoted to an appraisal of political and economic aspects of American democracy, as derived from the Constitution and affected by the decisions of the Supreme Court. There will be other general sessions devoted to the history of ideas which may be regarded as antecedents of certain American social and political theories and to various phases of constitutionalism which have developed in Europe and Latin America during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Although details are still tentative, arrangements are in process for a joint session with the American Philosophical Society on the first day of the meeting. The Presidential Address by Guy Stanton Ford will be given on the evening of December 30. Among the speakers will be Charles A. Beard, Carl Becker, John Dickinson, Walton H. Hamilton, Charles H. McIlwain, and F. S. Philbrick.

The following should be added to the *List of Research Projects in History*, published as a supplement to Volume XXXIX, No. 3, of the *American Historical Review*:

I. General

Franco-American diplomatic relations, 1830-1848. Prog. R. A. McLemore, *Judson.*

IX. Great Britain and Ireland

(b) Since 1485

British colonial policy, 1830-1841, with special emphasis on social and economic factors. Prog. Edith Dobie, *University of Washington.*

XVIII. United States of America

(4) Foreign Affairs

The New World foreign policy of the United States. Prog. 2 yrs. W. H. Callcott, *South Carolina.*

OTHER HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

Among recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following may be noted: an orderly book of the Revolution, 1777; additional papers of the Shippen and Livingston families, 1777 to 1796; two boxes of papers of Thomas Pinckney, dated 1751 to 1847, and one box of papers of William Lowndes and other members of the Lowndes family, 1787 to 1842; eight letters from Christopher Gore to Tobias Lear, 1791 to 1795, and nine letters from Tobias Lear in Algiers to Benjamin Lincoln Lear, 1803 to 1811; the papers of Gouverneur Morris, bound in 58 volumes; a volume of "Cursory Remarks on the United States of America", by George Bourne, 1802; six letters of James Monroe to Littleton W. Tazewell, 1808-1811; nineteen papers relating to the duel between Henry Clay and John Randolph, 1826 and 1853; journal of the National Clay Club, July, 1842; additional papers of Alexander S. Palmer and Nathaniel B. Palmer relating to shipping in Connecticut, etc., mainly 1830 to 1890; a journal of D. P. Gardner of a journey to California, 1850; narrative of visits to Oregon, California, the Hawaiian Islands, Manila, Batavia, St. Helena, etc., by William L. Plumer of Boston, 1849 to 1851; some 7000 letters received by Alexander H. Stephens; 38 letters to Henry Gourdin, cotton broker in Charleston, S. C., 1860-1861; photostat of a letter from Jacob Thompson to Judah P. Benjamin relating to a mission to influence the Northwestern states, December 3, 1864; copy of reminiscences of the Civil War by Major-Gen. August von Kautz, U.S.A.; letter of the Rev. George C. Powell relating to Lewis Thornton Powel (Lewis Payne), November 7, 1865; papers of Edward Frost of Charleston, S. C.; papers of Benjamin H. Bristow, several hundreds; additional papers of Benjamin H. Bristow, Caleb Cushing, Benjamin Harrison, Brig.-Gen. Edward S. Godfrey, Henry T. Rainey, and Brand Whitlock; eleven boxes of White House papers of Irwin H. Hoover, 1909-1933; and various photostats from the London Public Record Office.

The National Archives has recently received the following: the greater part of the "Senate Files", a collection of records of outstanding importance for research, transferred from the Capitol, where it was practically inaccessible to scholars, which includes legislative journals, bills and resolutions and accompanying papers, messages from the President, reports of departments, committee reports, and petitions and memorials, and most of the series run from the beginning of the government under the Constitution to the end of the Seventieth Congress (1929); records of the Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation that were damaged by a fire in 1921, including original certificates of registry and enrollment of vessels, 1815-1871; records of the General Land Office, including about 400 original tract books, dating from 1820, and copies of outgoing correspondence of the former Railroad Division, 1856-1891; records of the Department of the Navy, including letterpress

copies of outgoing correspondence, 1851-1886, tracings of designs of machinery and apparatus for naval vessels, 1850-1920, letterpress copies of outgoing correspondence of the Division of Naval Intelligence, 1899-1912, aviation files from the London headquarters, 1917-1919, and records of the military governor of Santo Domingo, 1917-1924; additional records of the former Lighthouse Board, including correspondence of the San Francisco district office, 1855-1859; the official minutes of the United States Industrial Commission, 1898-1902; records of the Currency Redemption Division of the Department of the Treasury, 1907-1935; seismograph records of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, 1903-1928; records of the United States Railroad Administration, 1918 to date; records of the collector of customs for the Port of New York, 1830-1875, transferred from the Library of Congress; farm schedules for the 1920 and the 1925 census of agriculture, the file of the former being incomplete as the greater part of it was destroyed in 1927 as "useless papers". The bulletins and circulars issued by the National Archives are distributed free of charge by the administrative secretary.

The following recent accessions to the Naval Historical Foundation may be noted: Francis Winslow collection, consisting of about 500 letters, and of commissions, orders, journals, letter books, and logs, 1833-1863; photographs of sketches of submarines and submarine mining by Robert Fulton; draft of the *Royal George,* built at St. Johns on Lake Champlain, 1777; copies of the John Young papers, 1776-1779; journals and letter books of Commander H. B. Sawyer, U.S.N., 1841-1859; 16 documents from files of Rear Admiral J. H. Russell, U.S.N., 1861-1875.

Accessions to the Manuscript Division of the New York Public Library during the year 1936 are listed in a descriptive catalogue published in the Library's *Bulletin* of last February. The practice of publishing annual catalogues of accessions in the February issue of the *Bulletin* was begun in 1935.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has acquired: the record books of two district lumber inspection officers; papers, 1828-1880, of Peter Bender, Milwaukee merchant and mill operator, which include documents concerning the Milwaukee and Green Bay plank road and material on saw and grist mills; a collection of autographs and biographical sketches of pioneer physicians, instruments and operating kits, books, pamphlets, and medical treatises.

Among the more important recent accessions of the Minnesota Historical Society are an extremely rare Sioux War item—a small pamphlet by Mary Butler Renville, entitled *Thrilling Narrative of Indian Captivity* (Minneapolis, 1863); a group of about fifty books and pamphlets on Swedish immigration and travel in America; and several filing boxes of printed literature and papers, including correspondence between 1915 and 1919, of the Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association.

Annual meetings of the following historical societies are noted: The

Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society (April 20 at Columbus); Texas State Historical Association (April 23-24 at Austin); The State Historical Society of Missouri (April 24 at Columbia); the thirtieth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association (April 29, 30, and May 1 at St. Louis).

The Canadian Historical Association held its annual meeting at McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, on May 24 and 25. This year being the centenary of the rebellions of 1837, part of the program was designed to bring out various aspects of this subject. The first morning was devoted to a round table on the presentation of history through broadcasting. Papers were read by Mr. Allan Plaunt, a member of the Board of Governors of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, and Mr. D. W. Buchanan, of the staff of that corporation. At Mr. Plaunt's suggestion the association appointed a committee to co-operate with the corporation in all matters concerning historical broadcasts in Canada. At the afternoon session three papers were read: "Geographico-Cultural Aspects of the Five Canadas" by W. N. Sage, "Aperçu de la situation économique dans le Bas-Canada vers 1837" by Gerard Parizeau, and "Le voyage de Pierre-Antoine Tabeau dans le Haut Missouri vers 1803-1805" by Benoit Brouillette. In the evening President Dixon Ryan Fox of Union College spoke of parallels and differences in some aspects of the development of the United States and Canada and of the training that might be best for men in the public administration of the United States under the changed conditions of the modern world. The second day began with the annual meeting, at which the following officers were elected: president, D. C. Harvey (archivist of Nova Scotia); vice-president, R. G. Trotter (Queen's University); English secretary and treasurer, Norman Fee (Public Archives of Canada); French secretary, Sérapin Marion (Public Archives of Canada). Two papers were then read and discussed. The first, by H. M. Morrison, was on "History in the Canadian Public School Curriculum", and the second, by J. Bartlet Brebner, on "The Discovery of Drake's 'Plate of Brasse' of 1579". After lunch Mr. Henri Bourassa spoke on "The Sense of Nationhood in French Canada", and there followed the first joint session with the Canadian Political Science Association, at which both papers were concerned with the rebellions of 1837. That by Fred Landon was on "The Common Man in the Era of the Rebellion", and D. G. Creighton's was entitled "The Economic Background of the Rebellions". At the final session in the evening, also a joint session with the Canadian Political Science Association, the retiring president of the Canadian Historical Association, Professor C. W. New, read a paper on the background of the rebellions, looking both at English influences and the effect of the American and French revolutions. Following the usual practice, the papers will be printed in the annual report of the association.

On June 30, 1936, the first meeting of the *Institut international d'histoire de la Révolution française* was held under the auspices of the *Centre d'études de la Révolution française de l'Université de Paris*. Future annual meetings have been announced by its president, Professor P. Sagnac. An exhibition of documents, paintings, etc. is being planned by the honorary president, Edouard Herriot, on the occasion of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Revolution in the spring of 1939.

The first meeting of the *Institut international d'histoire constitutionelle* was held at the Sorbonne on June 29, 1936. M. Joseph Barthélemy was elected president and M. Charléty, rector of the Academy of Paris, honorary president. The *Institut* will hold its next session this summer. It has begun the publication of a journal, *Revue d'histoire constitutionelle*, and of documents concerning constitutional and parliamentary history.

The Czechoslovak Historical Association held its first congress from May 3 to 6. Several of the sessions were devoted to practical discussions of archival organisation, problems of teaching methods, and a review of the present situation of Czech historical scholarship in different fields. The greatest interest centered in the papers on the main problems and the philosophy of Czech history.

The American Documentation Institute has been incorporated on behalf of leading national scholarly, scientific, and informational societies to develop and operate facilities that are expected to promote research and knowledge in various intellectual fields. A first objective of the new organization will be to develop and apply the new technique of microphotography to library, scholarly, scientific, and other material. It will be able to conduct scholarly publication by various methods as required by co-operating organizations. Organized as a Delaware corporation "not for profit" but for educational, literary, and scientific purposes, the new organization resulted from a meeting attended by delegates from national councils, societies, and other organizations in Washington on March 13. The board of trustees elected consists of: Robert C. Binkley, Western Reserve University; Solon J. Buck, director of publications, National Archives; Watson Davis, director, Science Service; James Thayer Gerould, librarian, Princeton University Library; Ludvig Hektoen, chairman, National Research Council.

In February some fifty delegates from all parts of South Carolina met in Columbia and organized the University South Caroliniana Society to collect material relating to the economic, social, political, military, and cultural history of the state. The collection is to be housed in the library of the University of South Carolina. The following officers were chosen: president, Associate Justice Milledge Lipscomb Bonham of the Supreme Court of South Carolina; vice-president, W. S. Hendley of Columbia; secretary, Professor Robert L. Meriwether of the University of South Carolina. The society pro-

poses to collect and display books and pamphlets relating to the history of the state, books and pamphlets by and about South Carolinians, newspapers, ledgers, account books, and other documents relating to economic and social history, records of churches and societies, and other similar material. Anyone who is interested in this project is invited to become a member. All persons who have documents of any sort bearing on the history of South Carolina are invited to communicate with the secretary.

There has recently been founded in Paris, at 4 rue Léonce-Reynaud, an *Institut d'histoire de l'emigration politique contemporaine*. It aims to collect documents concerning political emigrees and refugees in recent times.

London Mediaeval Studies, a new journal, is edited by R. W. Chambers, F. Norman, and A. H. Smith, and published at University College, London. The annual subscription price is *7s. 6d.* W. P. Ker contributes a brief introductory note to Volume I, part 1. This first issue contains articles primarily of interest to students of medieval literature.

The International Institute for Social History was founded at Amsterdam in 1935. It has formed a library including over 100,000 volumes, and it is collecting archives of private families and of organizations that have been prominent in the social history of their countries. It now publishes an *International Review for Social History* as well as a quarterly *Bulletin* containing brief articles devoted to its latest acquisitions. Its headquarters are at 264 Keizersgracht, Amsterdam.

Announcement has been made by the Northwest Territory Celebration Commission of a prize of $1000 for the best work, in manuscript form, covering the history of the Ordinance of 1787 and its effect upon the development of government. The contest will close on June 1, 1938, when all manuscripts are to be in the hands of the commission at its offices in Marietta, Ohio. Information regarding the rules to be observed by contestants will be furnished by the commission upon application.

The Alexander Prize will be awarded by the Royal Historical Society for the best essay on any subject approved by the literary director. Essays must be received by March 31, 1938. Further particulars will be furnished by the secretary of the society (22, Russell Square, London, W.C. 1) on application. The Alexander Prize for 1937 has been awarded to C. H. Philips for his essay on "The East India Company 'Interest' and the English Government, 1783-1784".

In the note on collections of Lincoln material, which appeared in our January issue, page 411, we inadvertently failed to mention the Lincoln Collection of the Illinois State Historical Library. This is especially important for its extensive files of local newspapers.

PERSONAL

The field of Far Eastern studies lost one of its foremost scholars in the death on March 16, at the age of 60, of Baron Alexander Von Staël-Holstein, professor of Central Asian Philology at Harvard and director of the Sino-Indian Institute in Peiping. He studied at the universities of Berlin and Bonn and received his doctor's degree in Sanskrit at the latter institution. Some years later he became professor of Sanskrit at Petrograd. In 1915 he went to Japan to continue his Buddhistic studies and later to China where he became professor of Sanskrit at the Peking National University. In 1927 he was appointed director of the Sino-Indian Institute where at the time of his death he was engaged in intensive studies of Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese versions of Buddhistic texts, assisted by a corps of Chinese and Western scholars whom he had carefully trained to meet the high standards of critical textual research to which he constantly adhered.

John Torrey Morse, jr., editor of the American Statesmen series, died suddenly in Needham, Massachusetts, on March 27 in his ninety-eighth year. He was born at Boston on January 9, 1840, and through both his father and mother was connected with many famous families of Massachusetts. He graduated from Harvard in 1860 and was admitted to the bar in 1862. He never liked the law, however, and gave up his practice in 1880 in order to write. His lasting contribution to history was the conception of the American Statesmen series, to which he contributed biographies of the two Presidents Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, and Abraham Lincoln. His delightful account of his editorship appeared in Volume LXIV of the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society, before which he read it when he was nearly ninety-two. In 1911 he sponsored the *Diary of Gideon Welles* and received an LL.D. from Harvard. In September, 1936, he led the long column of graduates into the Tercentenary Theater at Cambridge. In 1876 he was elected to the legislature but never again sought public office. His retirement from politics was voluntary and deliberate. Devoted friend of the mutually hostile Senator Lodge and Moorfield Storey, he never shared the extreme notions of either. He was something of a Mugwump at a time when strict party loyalty was the one road to political success. His stories of great Bostonians were always amusing and never malicious. It was his good fortune to suffer none of the infirmities of old age. His eyes remained noticeably bright, his fine voice clear, and his bearing gallant to the very last. His wish was to die on his feet—and he was walking in his garden within an hour of the end.

On April 9 Albert Bigelow Paine died at New Smyrna, Florida, at the age of seventy-five. The author of many books, he was best known as the biographer and literary executor of Mark Twain. Like the great humorist,

he was a product of the Middle West, having been reared in Iowa and Illinois; and he had wandered widely in early life, first as a harvest hand, then as a photographer who set up his studio in different cities of the South and West. He came to New York in 1895 to go into humorous journalism. After writing much light prose and verse and editing several periodicals—one in collaboration with John Kendrick Bangs and R. K. Munkittrick—he published his first important book, *Thomas Nast: His Period and his Pictures,* in 1904. Meanwhile he had become a warm friend of Mark Twain, who saw in him the combination of experience, insight, and narrative vividness requisite for his biographer and for ten years made him companion and confidant. Talking, smoking, and playing billiards with Clemens, Paine became as familiar with his mind and character as Boswell with Dr. Johnson's. Thanks to this intimacy and to his skill with the mass of letters and notes left by Mark Twain, Paine's three-volume biography, published in 1912, is one of the ablest and richest, and certainly the most amusing, book of the kind in American letters. The late Stuart P. Sherman remarked that it was "the prose Odyssey of the American people" and would outlive half of Mark Twain's works. Paine also edited Mark Twain's autobiography, letters, and notebooks, and published a somewhat romantic life of Joan of Arc, for which he was decorated by the French government.

Dr. W. A. E. Cummings, who died at Glen Falls, New York, on May 5, at the age of seventy-eight, was the founder of the Ticonderoga Historical Society and for twenty-five years a trustee of the New York State Historical Association, in both of which societies he rendered memorable service. It was through his personal initiative that the marking of historical sites was carried on in and around Ticonderoga.

At the time of her death on May 6 Dr. Mildred Salz Wertheimer was research associate for Germany and Central Europe of the Foreign Policy Association, with which organization she had been affiliated since 1924. She was graduated from Vassar College in 1917 and in 1924 received the doctor's degree from Columbia University, the subject of her dissertation being *The Pan-German League, 1890-1914.* In addition to having written many *Foreign Policy Reports,* Dr. Wertheimer was coauthor with Raymond Leslie Buell of *Europe: A History of Ten Years* (1928) and coauthor of *New Governments in Europe* (1935). She spent a considerable amount of time in Central Europe and at Geneva and was held in high esteem by the American foreign correspondents. In 1933 she assisted James G. McDonald in organizing the work of the High Commission for German Refugees.

Charles Homer Haskins died in Cambridge, Massachusetts, on May 14. He was born at Meadville, Pennsylvania, on December 21, 1870, was graduated in 1887, at the age of seventeen, from the Johns Hopkins University,

received the degree of Ph.D. in 1890, and was instructor in history there in 1889-1890. From 1890 to 1902 he was successively instructor in history, assistant professor, professor of institutional history, and professor of European history in the University of Wisconsin. Coming to Harvard in 1902 as professor, he was made Gurney Professor of History and Political Science in 1912, from that year until 1928 was the first holder of the Henry Charles Lea professorship of medieval history, and from 1908 to 1924 was dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences. In 1922 Professor Haskins was president of the American Historical Association, in 1926-1927 president of the Mediaeval Academy of America, and from 1920 to 1926 chairman of the American Council of Learned Societies. In 1918-1919 he served as chief of the Division of Western Europe in the American Commission to Negotiate Peace and was the American member of the Commission on Belgium and Danish Affairs and of the Special Commission on Alsace-Lorraine and the Saar Valley at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. He received honorary degrees from the universities of Wisconsin, Harvard, Manchester, Strassburg, Padua, Paris, Caen, and Louvain. Professor Haskins was a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, of the academies of Barcelona, Rouen, and Caen, and of the Société des antiquaires de Normandie, corresponding member of the Royal Historical Society, foreign associate of the Institut de France, associate fellow of the British Academy, commander of the Order of the Crown of Belgium, and officer of the Legion of Honor; a few weeks before his death he received notice of his election as *correspondant étranger honoraire* of the Société nationale des antiquaires de France. This list is an index of the universal recognition and appreciation, abroad and at home, of the great contribution to history and to the teaching of history that Professor Haskins has made, a recognition such as has seldom if ever been accorded to any other American historian. His *Norman Institutions,* from its publication in 1918 to the present, has been accepted as the standard work on its subject; the masterly survey of the development of European culture in his *Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* at once took its place as an indispensable help to all students of medieval history, as did the series of brilliant papers collected in his volumes on *Mediaeval Science* and *Mediaeval Culture;* while his Lowell Lectures on *The Normans in European History* show his genius in adapting the results of profound scholarship to the general reader or hearer. The same versatility marked his teaching. His real forte was the guidance of advanced historical research, yet few could equal him in the power to hold and to interest the largest classes. But great as these achievements are, the host of those who were privileged to know Professor Haskins as teacher or colleague or friend are likely first to think of something else: the keen personal interest in his students, the kindly encouragement, the ready help, the true sincerity of a great man. In

speaking of Charles Gross, his friend and colleague, Professor Haskins once used these words: "A great scholar, he brought into every task the scholar's devotion and a certain large simplicity of purpose, and his historical work was merely one expression of a deep sincerity of life and character." He could not have painted a truer portrait of himself.

On May 19 Leonard Leopold Mackall died at Fredericksburg, Virginia. He was born in Baltimore on January 29, 1879. After receiving the degree of A.B. from the Johns Hopkins University in 1900, he attended the Harvard Law School for two years and then, successively, the universities of Berlin, the Johns Hopkins, and Jena. In Germany he devoted himself to Goethe studies and, in addition to other contributions on this subject, was coeditor of Goethe's Collected Conversations (5 vols., Leipzig, 1909-1911). In this country, after 1914, he prepared in large measure the three-volume catatogue of the DeRenne Georgia Library, published in 1931. After 1930 he was consultant in bibliography to the New York Academy of Medicine. From 1924 until his last illness he conducted with force and learning the weekly Notes for Bibliophiles department in the *New York Herald-Tribune* "Books". At the time of his death he was serving for the second year as president of the Bibliographical Society of America. Mackall's most distinguished activity was his book collecting. His library of some 15,000 volumes, bequeathed to the Johns Hopkins, was that of a trained scholar, who was also a born collector, intuitively aware of worth and rarity, and unusually knowledgeable about markets. His friends remember his generosity, his unselfishness, and the warmth of his nature.

Stephen Herbert Langdon, who died at Oxford on May 19, was born in Monroe, Michigan, on May 8, 1876, and received his training at the University of Michigan, Union Theological Seminary, and Columbia University. In 1908 he was appointed Shillito Reader in Assyriology at Oxford and in 1919 he succeeded A. H. Sayce as Professor of Assyriology there, a post which he held until his death. He was perhaps unrivaled in the field of Sumerian studies. He published what has been described as the "first useful grammar of Sumerian", edited numerous texts, chiefly on religion, mythology, and chronology, and became one of the outstanding archaeologists of recent years. Since 1922 he had been director of the Weld-Bundell and Field Museum Expeditions to Mesopotamia, and his excavations at Kish rank with the work of Woolley and Gadd at Ur and the present dig at Tepe Gawra under Speiser as the most important finds relating to the early history of Mesopotamia. Professor Langdon did little historical writing aside from the chapters on Sumer and Akkad in Volume I of the *Cambridge Ancient History*. His last major work, *Babylonian Menologies and the Semitic Calendars* (Schweich Lectures, 1933), is the authoritative book on one of his favorite subjects, the early history of the calendar.

The Social Science Research Council has awarded the following grants-in-aid in the historical field: Isabel Ross Abbott, Rockford College, English finance under Henry IV; Percy W. Christian, Walla Walla College, the struggle for Kentucky statehood; Henry David, College of the City of New York, American labor in politics since 1900; Angie Debo, University of Oklahoma, history of the Creek Indians; Lucille Deen, Carleton College, the diplomatic background of the British Revolution of 1688; Stanley Dalton Dodge, University of Michigan, areal limits and causes and degree of population decline in New England; Edgar L. Erickson, University of Illinois, indentured East Indian coolie emigration in the British Empire, 1819-1922; Christina Hallowell Garrett, history of the Marian exile, 1553-1559; Abram Lincoln Harris, Howard University, comparison of the economic ideas of Thorstein Veblen and Karl Marx considered as departures from orthodox or classical economic theory; F. A. Hermens, Catholic University of America, antiparliamentarian movements; Guy Franklin Hershberger, Goshen College, Quaker pacifism and the provincial government of Pennsylvania, 1682-1756; Roland Dennis Hussey, University of California, history of the Caribbean as a center of international conflict, 1492-1904; Ben William Lewis, Oberlin College, control of industry in Great Britain; E. Wilson Lyon, Colgate University, biography of François, Marquis de Barbé-Marbois, 1745-1837; Shelby T. McCloy, Duke University, charitable aid rendered by the French government to its subjects during periods of crisis in the eighteenth century; James C. Malin, University of Kansas, adaptation of farm population and agriculture to prairie and plains environment in Kansas; Anatole G. Mazour, Miami University, origins of the Russian Revolution; Chester William New, McMaster University, biography of Lord Brougham; Archibald J. Nichol, University of Maryland, life and work of Augustin Cournot; John Whitney Pickersgill, University of Manitoba, the Catholics in the French elections, 1870-1900; John Perry Pritchett, Vassar College, life of Thomas Douglas; Roy Marvin Robbins, Western Reserve University, western reaction to the conservation movement, 1878-1915; Walter Buckingham Smith, Williams College, the Second Bank of the United States and its relation to the crisis of 1837; Leonid I. Strakhovsky, Georgetown University, life of Henry Middleton; Joseph R. Strayer, Princeton University, administration of France under Philip IV; Arthur Preston Whitaker, University of Pennsylvania, economic background of diplomatic relations between the United States and Latin America, 1800-1830; Walter F. Willcox, Cornell University, essays in American demography; Rudolph A. Winnacker, University of Nebraska, political development of France under the Third Republic; Vertrees Judson Wyckoff, St. Johns College, economic history of Maryland during the seventeenth century. Southern grants-in-aid are: Howard K. Beale, University of North Carolina, biography of Theodore Roosevelt; William Patterson Cumming, Davidson College, early settlements

in North Carolina; Frank Lawrence Owsley, Vanderbilt University, the nonslaveholder of the Old South; Alfred B. Thomas, University of Oklahoma, Spanish-Indian relationship in northern Mexico in the late eighteenth century; Amry Vandenbosch, University of Kentucky, government and politics of the Netherlands. The post-doctoral fellowships are: Harry Schuyler Foster, Ohio State University, the news, the public, and pressure groups in the determination of recent British foreign policy; Samuel P. Hayes, jr., Mount Holyoke College, psychology of politico-economic movements in the United States. A pre-doctoral fellowship was awarded Reuben John Rath, Columbia University, for a study of postwar nationalism in Austria.

Eight Guggenheim fellowships have been awarded to the following: Earl J. Hamilton, Duke University, John Law's System, the first experiment with a managed currency; Frank W. Fetter, Haverford College, the development of theories of money, banking, and international finance in England between 1800 and 1870; Erst Levy, University of Washington, the development of Roman Law in the western part of the Empire during its decline; Max Norton, New York City, socialist-communist, liberal-democratic, nationalist-patriotic, and reactionary movements; Holden Furber, Boston, the consolidation of British power in India, 1783-1815; Samuel Noah Kramer, University of Chicago, Sumerian culture as based on tablets dating approximately from 2000 B.C.; Rev. Dom Anselm Strittmatter, St. Anselm's Priory, to continue his studies in the history of Christian life and thought; Charles F. Edson, jr., American School of Classical Studies in Athens, historical geography and epigraphy of ancient Macedonia.

The grants-in-aid in the historical field, awarded by the American Council of Learned Societies, are: Elizabeth P. Brush, Rockford College, life and letters of Guizot; Dorothy M. Quynn, Duke University, a history of the University of Orleans; L. C. Goodrich, Columbia University, studies in the field of Chinese censorship.

The Commission for Relief in Belgium Educational Foundation has awarded a fellowship to Eugene E. Pfaff, instructor at the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, to enable him to carry on research in the social and economic history of Belgium during the period of French rule, 1795-1815.

Announcement is made of the following promotions: *University of Colorado,* James G. Allen to be assistant professor; *Columbia University,* Shephard B. Clough to be assistant professor and Frank Tannenbaum to be associate professor; *George Washington University,* Lowell Joseph Ragatz to be professor; *Goucher College,* Naomi Riches to be associate professor; *The Johns Hopkins University,* Sidney Painter to be associate professor;

Mount Holyoke College, Frank E. Bailey to be assistant professor and Jessie M. Tatlock to be associate professor; *New York University,* Wesley F. Craven to be associate professor; *University of Pennsylvania,* Leonidas Dodson to be assistant professor; *The University of Southern California,* Erik McKinley Eriksson to be professor.

The following appointments are noted: *Columbia University,* Robert C. Binkley of Western Reserve University and Henry S. Commager of New York University, as visiting professors; *Duke University,* Paul H. Clyde of the University of Kentucky, as associate professor; *Harvard University,* Curtis Putnam Nettles of the University of Wisconsin and David Edward Owen of Yale University, as visiting lecturers; *Lehigh University,* Amos Aschbach Ettinger as associate professor; *Oberlin College,* Carl Wittke of the Ohio State University as professor and dean; *University of Oregon,* Arthur J. Marder as assistant professor to conduct the courses of Harold J. Noble during the latter's leave of absence; *Smith College,* Ray A. Billington of Clark University, as assistant professor; *The University of Southern California,* T. Walter Wallbank, as assistant professor; *Stanford University,* Lynn Townsend White, jr., as assistant professor; *University of Virginia,* John Black Sirich as acting assistant professor; *Yale University,* Sherman Kent as assistant professor.

Louis Gottschalk has been appointed chairman of the Department of History of the University of Chicago in succession to Bernadotte E. Schmitt. On the retirement of Laurence M. Larson, William Spence Robertson has been appointed head of the Department of History of the University of Illinois.

The Archivist of the United States announces the appointment of Mr. W. L. G. Joerg, of the scientific staff of the American Geographical Society, to the position of Chief of the Division of Maps and Charts in the National Archives; of Carl Louis Gregory, formerly special assistant on the WPA Survey of Federal Archives, as technical assistant in the Division of Motion Pictures and Sound Recordings; of Dr. G. Philip Bauer, formerly assistant national director of the WPA Survey of Federal Archives, as assistant research expert in the Division of Research; and of David Cleon Eberhart, jr., as assistant to the Director of the Division of the Federal Register.

Leaves of absence for the year 1937-1938 have been granted as follows: *Amherst College,* Lawrence B. Packard to be in Europe during the second half of the year; *University of Colorado,* Earl Swisher to complete a translation of the Chinese documents concerning American diplomatic relations from 1836 to 1861; *University of Michigan,* E. W. Dow and D. L. Dumond, the latter for the first semester; *University of Oregon,* Harold J. Noble, for study in Japan; *University of Pennsylvania,* William E. Lingelbach and Roy

F. Nichols, for the first and second terms respectively; *Yale University*, Samuel Flagg Bemis.

Announcement has been made of the resignation of Wilbur Cortez Abbott, Francis Lee Higginson Professor of History at Harvard. Professor Abbott's many and distinguished contributions to historical scholarship are well known to our readers. The first volume of his monumental edition of the writings and speeches of Oliver Cromwell has just been published by the Harvard University Press.

R. C. Clark, head of the Department of History of the University of Oregon, has been appointed editor of the *Oregon Historical Quarterly*.

Dr. Walter P. Webb, author of *The Great Plains* and *The Texas Rangers* and now on leave from the University of Texas, has accepted a temporary position with the National Park Service as historical consultant on the proposed Big Bend National Park. Dr. Webb has also accepted an invitation extended by the University of London to deliver a series of lectures on the West and Southwest next February and March.

Charles H. McIlwain, professor of the Science of Government at Harvard University, is at the Huntington Library this summer as an associate member of the research staff to examine material related to his particular field.

Van Wyck Brooks received the Pulitzer Prize in History for his book, *The Flowering of New England*. The Pulitzer Prize in Biography was awarded to Allan Nevins for his *Hamilton Fish: The Inner History of the Grant Administration*. This is the second time this prize has gone to Professor Nevins, his *Grover Cleveland* having won the award in 1933.

COMMUNICATIONS

THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Readers of the *American Historical Review* will be interested in a recent special publication of the *California Historical Society Quarterly*, "Drake's Plate of Brass: Evidence of his Visit to California in 1579" (Vol. XVI, no. 1, pt. 2, March, 1937). This includes articles by Professor Herbert E. Bolton and Mr. Douglas S. Watson describing the recent discovery of a brass plate which, in their opinion, is the plate that Drake, according to contemporary accounts, posted on June 17, 1579, at an anchoring place somewhere on the northern coast of California, claiming the country for Queen Elizabeth. These two papers are followed by excerpts from Hakluyt's *Voyages*, the "Anonymous Narrative" (a manuscript in the British Museum), and *The World Encompassed* by Sir Francis Drake. The illustrations include a full-sized reproduction of the tablet itself (obverse and reverse), two maps of the region where the plate was found, and a reproduction of a vignette from the Hondius map showing, for purposes of comparison, the *Portus Novae Albionis*.

The plate described by Professor Bolton and Mr. Watson is of solid brass, about five inches wide by eight inches long, and an eighth of an inch thick. It was found by Beryle Shinn in the summer of 1936 in Marin County, California. The inscription reads:

BEE IT KNOWNE VNTO ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS

IVNE 17 1579

BY THE GRACE OF GOD AND IN THE NAME OF HERR
MAIESTY QVEEN ELIZABETH OF ENGLAND AND HERR
SVCCESSORS FOREVER I TAKE POSSESSION OF THIS
KINGDOME WHOSE KING AND PEOPLE FREELY RESIGNE
THEIR RIGHT AND TITLE IN THE WHOLE LAND VNTO HERR
MAIESTIES KEEPEING NOW NAMED BY ME AN TO BEE
KNOWNE VNTO ALL MEN AS NOVA ALBION.

FRANCIS DRAKE

(Hole for
silver
sixpence)

The following points are offered as tentative suggestions toward a scientific examination of the plate itself:

The Metal: Was this brass plate originally rolled or hammered? Was it originally rolled and later hammered to give it the appearance of age? An analysis by a qualified metallurgist should be made in order to determine also whether or not the tablet is of sixteenth-century brass, made with calamine, or brass of a later period, made with zinc.

The Writing: The writing should be studied and compared with similar inscriptions of the period. For example, were the letters *N* and *M* usually made with two or three vertical strokes topped by a horizontal line, as on this plate?

What other examples are known of this particular form? Are the *N*'s and *M*'s attempts to reproduce miniscule cursive letters? If so, why are the majority of the letters Roman? Would one expect an inscription in Roman letters at this date? It would also be well to investigate the process which was used to produce the incisions in the plate. Were they hammered out or scratched?

The Date: Is the manner of writing the date (June 17 1579) and its position on the plate what would be expected in a record of the sixteenth century?

The Orthography: Except for the addition of *E* at the end of certain words, does the orthography contain a single characteristic Elizabethan form? Though spelling inconsistencies were characteristic of the period, variations in word forms frequently occurring in a single document, it is curious that the distinctly modern spelling of the words *England, king, queen, whole,* and *it,* for example, all occur within such a limited space. Incidentally, Drake spelled the same words in his manuscripts, *Yngland, kyng, quene, hooll,* and *yt.* It may be objected that Drake himself did not write the inscription—that a member of the crew did the actual work—but it would seem that Drake must have at least directed the proceedings. Again, it is strange that the maker of the plate was so successful in the spelling of such difficult words as *successors* and *possession* and yet slipped up over the word *her* (spelled *herr*) and left out a *d* in *and.* In view of this inconsistency, the bizarre spelling of *herr* could hardly be attributed to a foreign sailor attached to Drake's ship.

The Erosion: The extent of erosion on the tablet and the effects of weathering during three and a half centuries should also be carefully studied. A scientific analysis should be made of deposits on the surface or in the grooves, and any other chemical reactions which may appear should be investigated. A microscopical examination of the edges of the letters would tell a great deal. Do they show signs of erosion or wear, or are they sharp?

The importance of this discovery makes it essential that the utmost care be taken to establish the genuineness or expose the spuriousness of this plate. It is hoped that due consideration of the above questions will not be obscured by uncritical enthusiasm.

Huntington Library. R. B. Haselden.

The Editor of the American Historical Review:

On a short visit here in the United States I have read by chance Professor Ernest Lauer's review of my book on Rudolph IV in the last issue of the *American Historical Review* (XLII, 517-519). I should like to correct an important mistake in this review, which made me doubt whether the reviewer had really read the book. Although I can not agree with his statement that my book is a political rather than a scientific work, I will not undertake to disprove it because this would require an extensive exposition of my sociological as well as historical methods. I leave this question to more objective readers. Probably the reviewer himself has political categories in mind, because only this circumstance would explain his mistake in reading an important passage. A mistake of this type always has its reason and never occurs by chance. Moreover I must plead in this connection not for myself but for one of my collaborators, the late Dr. Victor Lebzelter, noted Viennese anthropologist, who published in the appendix of my book a purely scientific anthropological analysis of the skeletons of Rudolph IV and five other early Habsburgs. I myself suggested this analysis because, contrary to the opinion of the reviewer, I wanted to demonstrate that the early Habsburgs were not

Nordics, in spite of the theory of the National Socialists about the Nordic race. I have written several political pamphlets against National Socialism and I am one of the most outspoken Austrian political antagonists of the National Socialists. In his analysis Dr. Lebzelter calls the anthropological type of Rudolph IV *norisch*, not *nordisch* (I, 407). He finds Leopold II of the same type as Rudolph IV. On the contrary Leopold III, according to Dr. Lebzelter, "zeigt einen anderen Rassentypus und ist wohl vorwiegend nordisch" (II, 530). Dr. Lebzelter thus clearly distinguishes between *norisch* and *nordisch*. *Norische Rasse* refers to a Celtic race, not the Nordic race. The word *norisch* comes from the *Regnum Noricum*, the Austrian Celtic kingdom in the Roman era. The reviewer's mistake was no doubt caused by the political categories in his mind.

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